DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 249 120 SO 015 860

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TITLE	Structures of International News. A Case Study of the World's Press.
INSTITUTION	Amsterdam Univ. (Netherlands).
SPONS AGENCY	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Paris (France).
PUB DATE	Jun 84
NOTE	366p.; Contains small print throughout. Newspaper articles have been removed due to poor reproducibility.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC15 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Case Studies; Comparative Analysis; *Developed Nations; *Developing Nations; Discourse Analysis; Information Sources; *Newspapers; *News Reporting; Social Science Research
IDENTIFIERS	*International News

ABSTRACT

An analysis of how 252 newspapers from nearly 100 countries covered the assassination, on September 14, 1982, of president-elect Bechir Gemayel of Lebanon was conducted. The purpose was to determine whether news reporting in developed nations is different from news reporting in developing countries. Methodology included quantitative and qualitative analyses. A systematic discourse analysis provided explicit descriptions of thematic structures, conventional superstructures, local meanings and coherence, style, and rhetoric. The number of articles, coverage size, and story content in developed and developing countries were very similar. Less background coverage was provided, however, in newspapers from developing countries. Major differences between first and third world newspapers exist in their different sources of information: the third world press was almost fully dependent on the transnational news agencies, whereas developed countries had many sources. Two major factors explain the homogeneity of the news: (1) an internationally shared system of news discourse and production rules, and (2) the dominant role of the transnational agencies. (Author/RM)

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STRUCTURES OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS

A Case Study of the World's Press

Teun A. van Dijk

June 1984

This case study has been prepared for and supported by UNESCO. It is a preliminary report of first results from the project on structures of international news. Further reports are in preparation.

ⓒ Teun A. van Dijk

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SUMMARY

In the framework of the international debate, stimulated by UNESCO, about a new international information and communication order, this study provides a qualitative analysis of international news in the world's press. Besides a new theoretical approach to the structures of news discourse, this report also contains an extensive case study of the coverage of the assassination of president-elect Bechir Gemayel of Lebanon, on September 14, 1962. As empirical data of this case study more than 250 newspapers from nearly 100 countries were collected, and subjected to both qualitative and quantitative analysis.

The qualitative study is formulated in terms of a syrtematic discourse analysis, instead of being based on traditional methods of 'content analysis'. Such an analysis provides explicit descriptions of thematic structures, conventional superstructures (news schemata), local meanings and coherence, style and rhetoric.

After a quantitative analysis of data obtained from the scoring of 729 articles about the assassination of Gemayel and the ensuing invasion of West-Beirut by the Israeli army, a systematic discourse analysis was made of dozens of newspaper items. On most structural dimensions no major differences were found between the news items in newspapers of developing and those of developed countries, but some background categories appeared to be missing in third world newspaper stories , which is confirmed by the overall lower background coverage in third world newspapers of this event. Also , the number of articles and the size of the coverage in developing and developed countries is very similar.

Major differences between first and third world newspapers appeared to exist in their different sources: the third world press, as has been often found in other studies, was nearly fully dependent from the transnational news agencies. Western newspapers could rely also on their own correspondents in Beirut, or on specialized editors and staff writers. And when agency news is used, it was shown to be followed rather closely. Another major difference between various regions of the world was discovered in the implicit or explicit evaluations in the news articles, the background articles and especially in the editorials. Here, ideological, political, regional and cultural dimensions of news interpretation were shown to account for differences in evaluation (e.g. about the role of Israel and the USA). Yet, editorial freedom of interpretation and evaluation at the same time appeared to be constrained by the limitations of the news provided about Lebanon by the agencies.

It was finally concluded that two major, integrated factors explain the homogeneity of the news, and the standard stories about Lebanon, viz. an internationally shared system of news discourse and production rules, on the one hand. and the still dominant role of the transnational agencies, which have contributed to the diffusion of this implicit system of values and discourse rules, on the other hand.

PREFACE

This study reports results from ongoing research into the structures of international news in the press. Besides theoretical considerations about news, it provides a systematic analysis of the coverage of the assassination, on September 14, 1982, of president-elect Bechir Gemayel of Lebanon. For this case study some 250 newspapers from nearly 100 countries have been collected, as well as the relevant dispatches of the major international press agencies. The main goal of the project is to assess the structures of news about international events in the world's leading dailies and in the wires of the news agencies. At the same time, such an analysis allows us to provide an explicit answer to the question whether news in the 'first world' is different or not from news in the press of the developing countries. We thereby hope to contribute to the current discussion, stimulated by UNESCO, about the nature and distribution of news in the world, in particular, and about the international information and communication order, in general. Whereas previous studies of international news have been mainly quantitative, or focused on the institutional and political frameworks of the news, our approach is (also) qualitative: we want to know in --even subtle-- detail how the world press covers a particular event. The assassination of Gemayel, and the ensuing occupation of West-Beirut by Israeli troups, are political events that received attention in practically all newspapers of the world from September 15 through September

17, 1982. Systematic analysis and comparison of the coverage of such events throughout the world enables us to tell, among other things, whether cultural or political differences between countries, regions or newspapers also lead to different interpretations and descriptions of such events, or whether there appears to be roughly one uniform, international format and style of covering world events. In the latter case, explanations must be given of such a remarkable homogeneity, such as the prevailing role of international press agencies, or the existence of a more or less culture-independent, but western-influenced format and style of news reporting.

Obviously, a complete answer to such questions needs more than one case study. Qualitative analysis of even one international event requires highly complex, multi-level descriptions of several hundred, if not thousands, of news items in a multitude of newspapers across the world. Our conclusions, then, are limited to this specific case, but the amount of newspapers and countries studied here also warrants more general, empirical conclusions and the formulation of interesting hypotheses for further research.

The collection and analysis of hundreds of newspapers from many countries is a cumbersome enterprise, which cannot be carried out without the help of many others. Students of the University of Amsterdam have participated in two seminars about this project and provided first quantitative and qualitative data. Many volunteers have scored or translated news items. Newspapers and their editors were helpful by sending copies. Airlines brought newspapers for us, and foreign embassies in the Netherlands assisted us in completing our materials. With the much appreciated recommendation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dutch Embassies abroad also mailed us copies. We would like to thank them all for their invaluable contribution many names of persons and institutions are mentioned in our Acknowledgements section.

Also , thanks are due to Harm-Jan Ensink for doing the computer program and the quantitative analysis, and to Rob de Jong for checking the scoring forms. I am particularly indebted to the secretary of the project, Piet de Geus, for his invaluable assistance in innumerable chores , for his contributions to the computer analysis and for the compilation of the Appendices.

Finally, I would like to express gratitude for the interest that UNESCO took in our research and for providing some funds to pay the computer programming. I am indebted to its Director-General, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, for his quick decision to recommend assistance of the project, to Hamdy Kandil, Director of the UNESCO Division of Free Flow of Information and Communication Policies, for his personal interest and cooperation, and to Ms. Colleen Roach of the same division for her assistance. This modest contribution to the study of international news, carried out by a 'western' scholar, is also intended to emphasize our conviction that the issues that have been put on the agenda by UNESCO are of fundamental and global relevance. Despite all recent controversies dividing most western from most developing countries in this debate and the role of UNESCO in it, we believe that only a supra-national organization that forcefully defends the rights and the respect of the poor against the rich peoples of this world, is entitled to organize the international debate that should contribute to the solution of the problems that still beset the distribution of news and information in the world.

Although we have been trying to cope with a large amount of data, the results of our analysis should be qualified as modest. This is a low budget study, and much of the work has been done by students and volunteers. Both the extent and the rigor of our analysis has suffered from the lack of qualified personnel, translations, and money which are necessary in a fullfledged study. Despite the many lacunae in our analyses, however, we hope that the partial results will nevertheless give us some further quantitative and especially qualitative insights into the nature of international news in the world's press.

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Fall 1982 - Summer 1984

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION. FRAMEWORKS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS

1. Backgrounds: The Debate about a New(s) Information Order

The last decade has witnessed increasing interest for the production and the distribution of news in the world. Both in political and in academic contexts, international information flow and communication , especially between the developed and the developing countries, appeared to be the stimulating --if not controversial-- issue that provided the background of this interest for the news. Mainly within the framework of a series of international reunions and studies organized or stimulated by UNESCO, representatives of developing countries have challenged the control by western media of the information and communication networks in the world, the lack of balance in the news flow between the developed and the developing countries and the pervasive ethnocentrism in media and news contents that results from this monopoly. Although it was generally agreed that at least some inequality was involved, most western politicians and media forcefully rejected the full implications of the recommended 'new international information and communication order' (NIICO) that would redress such inequality. They interpreted such a new order as an intolerable attack on the freedom of the press and as an attempt to bring the media under the control of governments or states. The conflicting views and the clashing interests have been studied and formulated in the report for UNESCO by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, chaired by Sean MacBride (UNESCO, 1980), and in many other recent collections of studies(e.g. Richstad & Anderson, eds. 1981).

Although also issues such as information and communication technology, or other media,like film , books or magazines, are involved in this debate, the news --and especially the role of the international news agencies (AP, UPI, Reuter and AFP)-- received the main focus of attention. This is not surprising when we realize that the news provides the continuous, daily, information that the peoples and the nations of the world have about each other. It not merely registers and describes actual events in the world, but at the same time defines what is 'relevant'. The news portrays people but also nations, and updates the knowledge and beliefs on which nearly all international interactions are based. Despite its intended or purported 'factual' nature, many studies --to which we will turn later-- have shown that much like all other discourse, also the news expresses a subjective and hence ideologically biased picture of events and situations in the world. And the grievances of representatives of developing countries are, among other things, directed against the ideologically controlled western norms and values through which events in the Third World are portrayed in the news of the western media. In this way also the general interpretative framework on which perception of the developing countries is based may become biased. Hence this vital interest generally attributed to the news within the discussions about both the 'old' and the 'new' international information order.[1*]

In this study, then, we are mainly interested in the qualitative details of the ways international events are covered by the press and the news agencies, not in quantitative analyses about international news flow, or the control over media software and hardware. Unlike previous content analyses of the news, we will do so in terms of recent developments of (linguistically inspired) discourse analysis. Although such a detailed analysis can only be made for one case (namely the assassination of Bechir Gemayel as it is portrayed in the major newspapers of the world), we hope in this way to provide further insight into the (dis-)similarities in the media coverage of such an event in the developed and the developing countries. Against the background of the actual discussions about the distribution of news and the role of the international news agencies, such a study should be able to examine at least two alternative hypotheses: (i) if the press, also in the third world, is dependent on the news agencies, the coverage of an international event will be highly homogeneous if the newspapers have no other sources of information, or (ii) despite the possibly similar information from the agencies, cultural and political differences between individual newspapers in different countries lead to different interpretations of an international event, and hence to systematically different news items about such an event.

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[*] Footnotes to each chapter are taken up at the end of this report. They are mainly intended to provide further bibliographical references.

2. News analysis

Another background for our study has a more academic nature. In the last decade we also find increasing theoretical interest in the production, the structures and the effects of the news. For our discussion, we first encounter the studies about 'news values' that have been stimulated by Galtung & Ruge's (1965) well-known paper about international news. They made explicit the criteria used by journalists in the attention for and the selection of news events, such as negativity of the events, geographical and ideological distance, the status or power of (elite) news actors, and so on. The assassination of a president of a powerful or politically important country, according to this system of implicit news values, would indeed range high on a probability scale of being covered by the media. In many subsequent studies about news production, attention is being paid to such news values as they govern the social routines and the cognitive framework that underlie news production (cf. for instance, Gans, 1979; Golding & Elliott, 1979). Also within a micro-sociological perspective, such values of news production have been given attention, though reformulated in different terms, such as those of the reality defining nature of interpretative frameworks (Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980). They show that such frameworks and the daily routines of journalists determine the way 'reality' is not only 'seen', but rather (re-)constructed as a subjective reality, with its own relevancies. Thus, crime will be represented in the news according to the interpretative framework of the institutional sources for news about crime (primarily the police), the formats of police documents, and the relations between journalists and the police (see also Chibnall, 1977).

Whereas earlier work about 'making news' focuses on practical issues, or deals with economic or macro-sociological aspects (Epstein, 1973; Roshco, 1975; Schlesinger, 1978), the studies just mentioned rather try to understand and explain, at a micro-level, what social and cognitive constraints operate during the production of news. Especially the cognitive processes underlying the perception and interpretation of news events, news sources, news discourse and finally the news in the media, will be discussed in somewhat more detail later.

Since we are only indirectly interested in news production per se, and focus our attention on the structures of news, we will also draw upon recent work in the area of various forms of content analysis . Thus, the Glasgow University Media Group, in a series of books about 'bad news' (1976, 1980, 1982), examined television news and found, through careful analysis of presentation, style and content, that even the assumingly balanced news on TV (e.g. of the BBC) is systematically biased, e.g. in reporting about strikes (in which directors of factories are portrayed more favorably than striking workers). From a different theoretical perspective, also the work done at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham(cf. Hall,etal. 1981) shows how fundamental ideologies about social issues bias the interpretation and the representation of news events. These and many other studies (e.g. Strassner,1975;Hartley, 1982)have finally scattered the old myth of objectivity of the news: one of the journalist's most cherished professional values. How exactly subjectivity enters into the production of news will be dealt with below.

3. Discourse Analysis

Media messages in general and news in particular are genres of discourse. This means that they can be explicitly described in terms of discourse analytical theories that have been developed in the past 15 years. Although such a theoretical approach does not yet provide ready-made instruments for the description of large data bases, such as thousands of news items, discourse analysis is an important qualitative contribution to, if not a substitution for, classical content analysis, which is predominantly quantitative (Krippendorff, 1980).

Discourse analysis primarily deals with the various structures of text or dialogue, such as phonetic/phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, stylistic, rhetorical or narrative structures of discourse (see de Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981; Brown & Yule, 1983; Stubbs, 1983; van Dijk, ed. 1985, for introductions). Descriptions in principle take place by analyzing text or dialogue, at each of the levels or dimensions mentioned, into formally defined structural units or constituents, and by formulating the rules that govern the possible combinations or the interpretations of these constituents. This grammatical approach to discourse is supplemented with a description of non-linguistic structures, such as those of stories, argumentations or special discourse genres such as news in the press or on TV. A stylistic analysis studies the possible variations in 'surface structures', that is, morphonology, syntax and lexical choice, viz. as dependent variables with respect to personal or social parameters of the communicative context, such as 'formal' and 'informal' situations, relations between speech partners, or age, gender, class or ethnic group.

A rhetorical analysis also relates, like stylistics, text structures with 'context', but focuses rather on the effectiveness of special formulation devices ('rhetorical figures') upon hearers or readers. Finally, discourse may be analyzed also in overall formal terms, that is, by so-called 'schemata' or 'superstructures'. These are described by conventional categories that, for each culture, define the global 'form' of a specific genre. Stories, for instance, exhibit narrative schemata or superstructures, such as a Setting, a Complication, a Resolution, an Evaluation and a Coda (Labov & Waletzky, 1967). Such overall, schematic categories are also known from the theory of argumentation, where we usually distinguish between various kinds of Premise, and a Conclusion. And the same holds for the conventional structures of scholarly papers, lectures, sermons, etc. Discourse structures are not limited to monological, printed messages, but also characterize spoken, dialogical discourse forms, such as everyday conversations, meetings or TV talk shows. Since such types of discourse are at the same time forms of interaction, they also require description in terms of action structures, strategies, moves, or turns of talk. Such dialogues also exhibit schematic organization. A conversation, for instance, will usually start with Greetings, a ritual exchange of politeness moves (such as questions about health or family), a topical section, a closing section and again greetings/leavetaking formulas. Similar organizational patterns can be discerned in formal meetings or courtroom trials. We see from this highly succinct summary of the area of structural discourse analysis that discourse, and therefore also the news, can be characterized in rather explicit terms and at several levels of organization and interpretation. Contrary to traditional content analysis, this means that not only 'visible' (and countable) text units are described, but also 'underlying' structures of meaning or interpretation or more abstract organizational patterns. This allows us to make explicit such important notions as 'theme', 'schema', 'relevance', 'coherence', 'implication' or 'presupposition'.

In recent years discourse analysis has not been limited to this kind of structural analyses . Also the social, cultural and cognitive processes involved in the production, the comprehension, the memorization, and the uses of text and dialogue in contexts of communication have increasingly received attention · Sociolinguistic approaches have spelled out which features of discourse depend on or determine properties of the social situation: politeness formulas, the use of pronouns, coherence between sentences or turns at talk, special narrative structures and style, to name only a few properties of discourse, will systematically be determined by special features of this social context. And conversely, social situations will often derive their nature and definition from the kind and style of discourses used in them, as is the case in a trial or a business meeting. Obviously, such relations between text and context may be culturally specific and hence variable. We tell stories in different ways as North American Indians do. Finally, new developments in psychology and Artificial Intelligence have shown which cognitive representations, knowledge and beliefs, memory structures and strategies are involved in the understanding and recall of discourse(van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983).

4. The Structures and Processes of News

Against this background of mass communication studies of the news and of recent developments in discourse analysis, first attempts have been made to also get more explicit descriptions of the structures and processes of news, news production and news reception. Thus, news in the press will generally feature such conventional overall categories as 'headlines', 'leads', and a 'story' or 'body' of a news item. However, further specification of such categories, and new categories, are necessary in an explicit description. It has been proposed, for instance, that also news texts have a more or less conventional superstructure or 'news schema' (van Dijk, 1983). Besides the categories just mentioned, such a schema features various kinds of 'Background' categories, such as 'History', 'Context' or 'Previous Events'. Also, the central 'Events' of a news story will often be further differentiated into 'Causes' and 'Consequences', and usually some form of 'Reaction' category, in which also the traditional Verbal comments (of participants, politicians) occur in the text. Not all these categories will be obligatory; some are optional (such as Backgrounds). Rules determine the conventional ordering and the hierarchical organization of the categories and of the fragments of text they define. Theoretically speaking, news schemata organize not individual words or sentences but what may be called 'themes' or 'topics', that is, global meanings (or macrostructures, see van Dijk, 1980) of the news text. Often such themes will be expressed by several clauses or sentences, though not always within the same paragraph. The headlines and the lead together function as the Summary and the Introduction of a news text, and therefore by definition express the most important themes of the news text, that is, the semantic macrostructure. The rest of the text then 'develops' these themes into lower level themes and ultimately into the finer details of a news event and its backgrounds. Characteristic for news discourse, unlike natural stories, is the discontinuous nature of many of its basic categories. Thus, we will seldom find a news item which first mentions all information about the central, actual event, then the backgrounds or causes, and then the reactions, for instance. Rather, after the Summary (Headlines and Lead), we will find 'installments' of each category, in increasing degrees of specificity or detail. Instead of an inverted pyramid --as is sometimes maintained for news text structure-- a news item seems to possess a (hierarchical) pyramidal structure, where the 'highest' information (the most important topics) are mentioned first, and the large variety of detail later in the text. In this way we can at the same time specify the various degrees of relevance or importance in a news item. Thus, headlines or leads not only define the central themes or topics of the news, but also what --according to the editor(s)-- is most important or relevant. This relevance may also be signalled by other devices, such as style or rhetoric.

Finally, news discourse can of course also be characterized in terms of the usual grammatical structures, such as syntactic structures of sentences, lexical choice, or the semantic interpretation of clauses, sentences or sentence sequences, in terms of propositions, relations between propositions, coherence, or other properties of meaning.

Whereas the kind of news structures briefly mentioned above (and to be further specified in the next chapters) have received little interest in mass communication research, there has of course been more attention for the processes of *production* and *reception*. Studies of news production have been mentioned in section 2 above. However, such studies are usually limited to a macro- or microsociological analysis of production processes, media institutions or the routines of journalists. What we lack, first, is a close micro-sociological and ethnographical analysis of interactions, contacts, meetings, interviews, press conferences, or editorial encounters and the underlying, taken for granted categories, rules, strategies, and values involved in such interactions. Second, it has hardly been realized that much of the news production process involves forms of *discourse processing*: most sources for the news are themselves 'texts' of various kinds: other media messages, interviews, press conferences, sessions of political bodies, documents, notes, eyewitness reports, and so on. Newspaper journalists will seldom be direct witnesses of news events, unless these are again 'verbal'. That is, they already receive a coded and hence subjectively interpreted version of the news event, through various discourse forms. A study of news production, then, requires an analysis of the *text transformation processes* involved in journalistic work.

Closely related, third, is the study of the underlying *cognitive* processes involved in news production. Understanding sources and their texts , and the various phases of textual transformations, need to be made explicit in terms of comprehension processes in memory, available knowledge and beliefs, fast and effective strategies of summarization (in a context of specific goals, deadlines, social constraints, routine interactions, etc.), memory retrieval and recall, and (re-)production processes of writing news articles. We have some general insight into such processes, e.g. in cognitive psychology and AI (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983, also for further references), but more specific insight into processes of news production is practically absent. We need to specify the special or expert knowledge and beliefs of journalists, their implicit understanding of news schemata and news gathering routines, and the special strategies used in effective news production.

Similar remarks hold for the other side of the communicative chain, that is, for cognitive processes of understanding and memorizing the news by readers. A few experimental studies have in recent years provided some results about the ways people understand and recall information from news items, and these results confirm our more general insights into discourse understanding.[2] Yet, such studies are usually of the experimental, laboratory type, and will seldom precisely simulate what a casual reader does when reading the newspaper in a real situation. Any further conclusions about knowledge updating, the change of beliefs or opinions, and hence about the famous effects of the news, are pointless without systematic (field or other) experiments and observations that allow inferences about underlying cognitive processes of readers. Obviously, a complete cognitive model of newspaper reading will need to embody a specification of previous knowledge, beliefs and attitudes, overall ideologies, reading goals and strategies, properties of the communicative context of reading, and so on. The 'uses' approach to mass communication (Blumler & Katz, 1974) can be hooked onto such processes of understanding and cognitive 'change' only if it also specifies the communicative context features in the same kind of explicit detail and in terms of the cognitive representations and strategies that underly such social uses of the news. Thus, we need to know, also, how exactly people use information from the news for everyday conversation about recent news events.

From this brief programmatic statement about the study of news structures and processes, we may safely conclude that despite the vast amount of work that has been done in the area of mass communication in general and about news in particular, we still know very little about the finer details of social and cognitive processes of production, understanding and uses, nor about the news structures that are related to these processes. Therefore, it must be one of the aims of our study of international news to provide a cross-cultural, international, data base of news items on which analyses can be made that allow conclusions about specific or more universal properties of news discourse. Comparison between news items or between news items and news agency dispatches, then, may allow also some more detailed hypotheses about at least one aspect of the news production processes, viz. the transformation of agency copy into final news articles. A study of news understanding, next, would require empirical work in different countries and cultures, and would therefore be an important task for the future. Let us however begin with the most tangible dimension of the news communication process, viz. the news articles themselves.

5. Conclusions and some final (also political) remarks

In this introductory chapter we have sketched the various frameworks for our study about the structures of international news. From a brief summary about the political context of our study, viz. the debate about a new international information order, we have proceeded to a more academic framework for the analysis of news. It has been shown that studies of news are increasing, but at the same time that an explicit model of news structures, and of the cognitive and social processes of news production and reception, is still on the theoretical and empirical agendas of research. Systematic study, both quantitative and qualitative, of a large body of news articles in many newspapers about one specific, internationally relevant, news event may provide part of the answer to the question what kind of structures can be detected in the news discourse of these papers. Detailed discourse analysis, we hope, may provide further details about news structures that hitherto have hardly been studied in traditional content analytical approaches of a more superficial and quantitative nature(see e.g. Schramm & Atwood, 1981).

Although our concern, thus, is predominantly academic, the results of such a first and modest analysis of the structures of international news, may also provide useful answers to more practical questions of policy and politics. The influence of international press agencies may be specified through comparative analyses of textual transformation in news production. The socio-cultural and political differences or similarities between newspapers across the world may now be pinpointed in precise terms of news structures in the press (or on TV for that matter). Differences may then be connected with different features of the socio-cultural and political contexts of communication, such as different ideologies, interests, political values and beliefs, social constraints, and so on. And finally, if we know in detail what news in the world looks like, we already have at least one firm point to start the fundamentally important study into the ways this news is understood, memorized and cognitively and socially further 'processed' in some concrete socio-cultural situation and by different groups of readers. Thus, if the news from western news agencies provides a biased picture of the developing countries (and in fact about any country or event), this should show in their news output and in the media news based on it. And similarly, if such news has negative consequences upon readers, both in the developed and in the developing countries, such processes should be made explicit through further research about the effects of the news as specified above.

These claims about the necessity of much further research about the structures and processing of (international) news, do not imply that we are unable to make any sound assertions about news and news flow at the moment. No detailed discourse or process analysis of news is necessary to provide the straighforward figures that characterize agency operations, output, distribution, and 'flow' from and to developed countries. The social and political economy of the transnational organizations that control international information and communication needs no sophisticated structural analyses of news messages either. However, the impact of this state of affairs upon the processes of news production within the media of individual countries, upon the contents and the style of news, and especially upon the cognitive, social and political effects of such news, can only be fully understood when we do provide such an explicit theoretical and empirical framework. Thus, the ethnocentric bias in western news about the third world may be clearly seen and understood by all those who have developed a practical and political 'sense' of such biases, notably in the developing countries themselves. But the precise nature and the effects of such biases need to be further analyzed in order to predict the profound consequences of such reporting upon the knowledge, beliefs and attitudes of people and countries about each other. International misunderstanding and conflicts at least partly derive from such biased pictures as they are partly constructed on the basis of news. Detailed linguistic, cognitive and sociological analyses of news structures and processes, therefore, is not an idle academic exercise, but provides the necessary information about at least one important link in the complex chain of international 'information processing'. Hence the relevance of this study, we hope, for the discussion we mentioned in the beginning of this chapter about the (new) international information and communication order.

It should finally be stressed that although our interdisciplinary approach not only adheres to the basic principles of sound scientific research, but even tries to open up complete new ways of mass communication research, we have no illusion about the fundamental social and political constraints upon each kind of research. No investigation, and this holds especially for research in the social sciences, can be value-free, and will tacitly presuppose ideological positions. It is not only fair, but imperative,to make these explicit, in order to be able to evaluate hidden biases also in scientific discourse. No more than the news, our discourse can be objective --even if we have the illusion that such objectivity is at least some kind of ideal goal, defined in terms of truth, verifiability, or relevance, among other criteria.

Our experience and study of the news in our own country, as well as in many other western countries, has provided us much practical understanding of how our western news and newspapers 'work'. We have witnessed that despite changing values and despite good intentions, journalists --just like other human beings (but of course with much more power through their influence)-- are fallible. The news values of our media (negativity, elite people, spot news, etc.) do lead to a distorted picture of all 'others', such as ethnic minorities,women or socially and politically oppressed groups within our own countries, as well as of the powerless or geographically and ideologically 'distant' peoples or nations of the world. The relevance structure of news in the media rather directly reflects the current interests of our countries, and their political, social or cultural elites. Many studies have been undertaken to prove and detail such points, and we will henceforth accept them as established research results. The political analysis and consequences of such insights are obvious for all those who want to challenge this kind of cultural, and hence also economic and political, power of the western media and information industries or their governmental backing. This does not mean that we denounce all cultural or political values or aims of all western journalists or media. Nor does it imply that we espouse all political consequences that have been drawn from the assertion that international news is biased and the news flow unbalanced. Thus, against absolute freedom of the press (and certainly that of media organizations and industries), we obviously place profound social responsability of journalists and the media. But social constraints or cultural diversity do not imply oppression, and shared responsability can be effective only if it is shared with those who speak for the people, and not for own interests or power. If such nearly trivial assumptions are made clear, there should be no misunderstanding nor misgivings about renewal in the international organization of information and communication, nor about fundamental changes in the forms, structures, contents, and contexts of the news. Of course, deep-rooted ideologies, value-systems, attitudes, social and economical interests, and political power are also involved. And to change these takes time, requires debate and struggle, and again counter-power. To inform these processes, also research is necessary. This study is meant as a contribution to that kind of critical research which is a prerequisite of these changes.

Chapter Two

DEATH OF A PRESIDENT
A CASE STUDY

1. The Set-up of the Case Study

One of the most instructive ways to analyze and compare the news in the world's press, is to study their coverage of the same international event. Few events however are so important, internationally, that they are reported in practically all newspapers. The kind of events that meet the transnational news values are well known: wars, coups, earthquakes or similar disasters, and the assassination of heads of (important) states. Yet, it is obvious that most of these events are not on the agenda. Part of their news value not only derives from the seriousness of their consequences, but also from their unexpectedness. For the researcher this means that a systematic analysis of news about such events can only be carried out after the fact. But that implies that newspaper copies must be obtained from newspapers weeks or months after publication, which is a highly difficult enterprise, especially when many countries are involved.

For our case study, therefore,we have followed the other alternative. In advance , we selected a specific date, viz. September 15, 1982, and would study the international coverage of a possibly prominent event that would (start to) appear in the press of that specific day, as well as on the two subsequent days, due to time differences around the world, and the necessity to also study at least some of the possible follow-up about the event or about events that occurred as its consequence. In this way, we could arrange in advance to invite editors to send copies of these three days, to reserve all relevant papers at newsstands in Amsterdam, to ask airlines to bring copies with them from their countries of origin or departure, and so on. This procedure was started about one month in advance, so that our mailings and requests would reach also those countries that were at a long postal distance from Amsterdam (up to three weeks for airmail letters).

Having taken such precautions and made these preparations, the whole enterprise of course depended on one crucial contingency: would there be an event on the day(s) before September 15 that would be important enough to be covered by the international news agencies and the press throughout the world. Tragically, this indeed appeared to be the case. On September 14, Bechir Gemayel, president-elect of Lebanon,was killed during a meeting in his party headquarters in Beirut due to the explosion of a heavy bomb. Lebanon had been a primary source of international news for a long time (the departure of the PLO, invasion by Israel, etc.), and the death of its newly elected president, who was expected at least by some to be able to unify the country again, was of course a top ranking news event. And indeed, practically all newspapers we have been able to collect brought the assassination on their frontpages. In fact, due to earlier rumors that Gemayel had survived the explosion, some newspapers of the 15th first brought the news that Gemayel had survived. Most (morning) papers east of Lebanon, in Asia and Australia, of course brought the news only on September 16th. Newspapers in the Americas all profited from the time difference and had the story in their issues of the 15th.

Important events often have important consequences. This too appeared to be the case for the assassination of Gemayel. The Israeli army, having been outside of Beirut after the PLO departure, occupied West-Beirut, claiming to maintain the order after the death of the falangist leader. The political implications of that event were if possible even more relevant. And also this story hit the headlines of nearly all newspapers of the world, mostly a day later, and sometimes together with the story about the assassination: the invasion took place in the early morning of September 15, and its news was on time for the European evening papers and for most papers in the Americas. About both events the papers of the 17th brought important follow-up stories, as well as background analyses of the situation in Lebanon and the Middle-East.

September 14th also brought death to another internationally known person: Princess Grace of Monaco, who died of her injuries incurred in a car accident. Whereas the death of a president will receive wide interest in the framework of political news categories, and therefore is prominent in 'quality' newspapers with much foreign news, the death of a princess will be a prime topic for the human affairs categories and highly prominent in the more popular papers. This indeed appears to be the case. Many newspapers brought the two stories on the front page, and featured background stories, both about Princess Grace and about Gemayel on their inside pages. Obviously, these two stories by themselves also provide a unique possibility for comparative analysis. This comparison, however, will not be carried out in the present report, but must wait until our further analyses of these three days of international news have been made.

Since we had to wait up to two or three weeks after the 17th to know whether newspapers or other institutions had indeed sent copies of the intended three days, we could only start an operation of renewed requests or reminders many weeks later. Also due to the postal delays, the chances to obtain copies of the newspapers of these days were becoming smaller everyday, although we had newspapers trickling in until at least a year after the target days.

For each country we had to make a selection of newspapers. For countries of which the press was familiar to us, this was relatively easy: we wanted one or two quality (or elite) newspapers, but also widely circulated popular papers. We had to select the names and addresses from an international handbook of the press, which also indicated numbers of copies printed. Yet, this does not guarantee that we have made a really representative choice for each country. For our analysis, this was not really crucial: also the 'common' (non-quality, non-popular) newspapers would do fine, and would counterbalance the specific selection of quality and high-selling popular newspapers. Adequate sampling procedures in this kind of study are unfortunately a luxury that we couldn't afford.

The result of our endeavors was a collection of 252 different newspapers, from 99 different countries (see Appendix 2 for a complete List of Dailies). Unfortunately, not all papers became available for all three days, whereas some papers of the 15th don't run the target stories yet, because of the time difference. Yet, this unique collection gave us a worthwile first impression about the news items published around the world during the same three days. Although most of the world's papers are written in 'European' languages, which we were able to read ourselves, many other were in languages, from Albanese and Amharic to Thai or Malagasy, which would need to be scored or translated by specialists. Since most of our work had to be done with students and volunteers, this first report can only pay limited attention to the news written in 'non-western' languages. Altogether 34 languages aren represented in our collection of newspapers. Unfortunately, translation of hundreds of, sometimes long, newsstories --especially in the arabic language papers-- is too laborious and too costly to be considered within this small project. Also, translated stories, such as from Japanese or Chinese newspapers, did not allow us to score them on a number of important quantitative measures, such as size, presentation (headlines, etc.), numbers of words or lines for each theme (in the original) or other dimensions.

In other words, the amount of practical problems was such that a representative, complete, and multi-dimensional analysis of large samples of both first and third world newspapers could not fully be carried out. But although our results sketch only part of the whole picture, they do allow us to discern its general outline.

The diversity of the newspapers, as well as their coverage of the events in Lebanon, are impressive. Although we intentionally did not select a weekend date, so as to avoid the often bulky weekend editions of the press, some papers measured up to 60 pages, whereas others were barely more than leaflets of a few pages. The same holds for the news coverage. Some papers reported the events in more than a dozen of news and background stories during these three days, whereas others only brought one or two small items of a few lines. Of course, large part of this difference can be attributed to the difference in economic power, the size of the readership, or the presence/lack of information for the individual newspapers. Especially, newspapers from many West-, East, and Middle African states were rather modest (if we could get hold of them at all). Yet, the actual size of the stories also, and even more decisively, depended on the amount of foreign news in the respective papers. Thus, widely circulated, 'popular', newspapers in Western Europe, typically Bild Zeitung in Western-Germany, and the popular press in Great Britain, only brought a few lines about the events. Arabic newspapers, and of course the press in Lebanon itself, had pages of news, background stories and scores of photographs. Thus, several papers in developing countries, such as the Indonesian Times or the Indonesian Observer, among others, had more news and background about the events than many papers in developed countries. In brief, apart from an underrepresentation of newspapers from Africa and Asia (an underrepresentation which also reflects their position in the world's press), there is no a priori or obvious difference in the coverage of the events throughout the world.

2. Methods of Analysis.

The analysis of several hundreds of news items in a few dozen languages is a vast undertaking. We therefore have been forced to reduce this task to manageable proportions. Our strategy was to obtain some general data for quantitative analysis from large part of the newspapers, on the one hand, and to make a more thorough qualitative analysis of a small selection of news items. For the quantitative analysis, reported at the end of this chapter, we worked with a schematic form, reproduced on page 36 below. On this form, all the essential data of each news item were recorded (in Dutch or in English): page number, size, the occurrence of photographs and their size, the headlines, the major topics mentioned and their size in number of lines, the major actors and/or spokespersons of the events, and a general evaluation of the implicit or explicit political stance of the newspaper about the events or actors in the events (if any). These data were fed to the computer, so that general quantitative conclusions could be drawn about numbers of items for different countries or regions of the world, different coverage of topics or the appearance of actors, and in general possible differences between the news in the developed and the developing countries. The forms were filled out by students participating in seminars that were part of their course requirements (mostly students from different disciplines in the humanities and the social sciences, predominantly without much previous training in mass communication research). Later we made use of the services of volunteers who were recruited by posted or published ads.

More or less independent of this quantitative analysis, a number of news items from papers from different countries in various regions of the world were subjected to systematic discourse analysis. The levels of news analysis mentioned in the previous chapter were paid attention to in a series of seminar papers by students, and in further work by the present author. The respective levels or dimensions of analysis will be treated in Chapters 3 through 6. Each chapter will briefly summarize the theoretical background for the analysis of the respective dimensions, such as thematic analysis, schematic analysis or the study of style and rhetoric.

Yet, even here we had to make further restrictions on the amount of items to be analyzed. Whereas a global, topical analysis can be made for several dozens of items, a precise description of the local semantics, that is of the meaning of words, phrases, clauses, sentences and sentence sequences in the discourses, is a highly complex enterprise. A full local analysis of even one item would occupy dozens of pages of this report. Therefore, we limited this analysis to relevant fragments of the items, as we also did in our analysis of rhetoric, style or relevance structures. Thus, the headlines or leads, descriptions of the person and background of Gemayel or the reported motivations of the Israeli army to invade West-Beirut were selected for closer analysis, e.g. because we expected that differences among newspapers may be exhibited in such crucial components of the news items. Finally, we selected some more specific properties of news items for special treatment, such as the transformations with respect to the wires of the transnational news agencies, the photographs used, the patterns of quotations from differert participants or political commentators, and so on.

Ideally, this kind of analysis not only should yield a rather reliable portrait of the international press coverage of an important news event, and hence an explicit basis for even subtle comparisons of papers, countries or world regions, but also an evaluation of qualitative analysis. That is, systematic discourse analysis may be, as such, too complete and too refined to do an effective job. Only some features of news discourse may be really interesting to warrant general conclusions about structures of international news or about regional differences. The functions of headlines, to which we will turn in detail later, make them important candidates for such a strategic model of analysis, for instance. And the same may hold for person descriptions, the (non-)occurrence of topics or specific stylistic features. Obviously, it hardly makes sense to describe in detail all semantic sentence connections that define local coherence of the news items. Nor would it be very instructive to provide a full syntactic analysis of each clause, which would provide data about the formal style of each item or class of items. Whereas we have some intuitive criteria, as well as classical methods of statistical treatment, for the establishment and analysis of quantitative data, no such ready-made intuitions or methods exist for a systematic qualitative approach. Also in this respect, our analyses and conclusions are merely tentative, though possibly fruitful as suggestions for further work. Only concurring conclusions from large amounts of qualitative data analyses will eventually provide the insights we are trying to achieve.

3. Other data: the news wires and TV-news

Serious analysis of the press coverage of an international event within the framework of our goals also requires comparison with the wires of the transnational news agencies. We therefore collected all relevant wires (often many takes about the two main events, viz. the assassination of Gemayel and the invasion by the Israeli army) from AP, UPI, AFP and Reuter's. Just as for the collection of the newspapers, it appeared to be far from easy to obtain copies (or make copies) of such wires after the fact: permission had to be granted by higher level officials abroad, blue copy can hardly be xeroxed, many wires were incomplete, and so on. From these anecdotal research experiences, it may be first of all concluded that there is still no routine method to obtain complete, reliable and relevant data from the different media organizations involved. Just as the press itself complains about free access to information, it generally appears that access by serious academic researchers to information, data, documents or the social and practical production routines in the media, may be extremely difficult. As soon as this research also has a critical dimension, the researcher may even find all doors closed. This holds true also for large parts of the western ('free') press media.

The analysis of the uses of wire news in the production of news items is also far from easy. Sometimes the newspapers do not mention their sources. Then again they use several news agencies, of which fragments may be used in often haphazard ways, so that the precise source for each information unit (say: a sentence) can hardly be traced. Some newspapers have reports from their own correspondents in Beirut or elsewhere in the Middle-East, and these reports may be mingled with wire information. Background information may be taken from the wires, but also provided or supplemented by own documentation facilities. Finally, wire news may be transformed in many ways, such as by permutations, additions, deletions, or substitutions at the level of (semantic) content, or by stylistic changes, for instance of lexical items, and of course because of necessary translations. In other words, a close comparison of specific news items with their wire (or other) sources, can only be approximate, and feasible only if a few agencies are mentioned and used without too many transformations or additions from other sources.

Although it would of course be ideal to also have the TV-news items about the events in Lebanon at our disposal, this goal was beyond the grasp of our limited means: to obtain videotapes or at least text of newsfilm from many countries after broadcasting requires vast organizational (and financial) facilities, which unfortunately we didn't have. Therefore, we could only make a modest comparative analysis of the news appearing on Dutch TV.

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4. The Events in Lebanon

To provide some initial information about the events in Lebanon and about how they were reported in the press, the next pages contain a small sample of clippings from several newspapers in the world. What happened?

On August 23 , 1982, Bechir Gemayel was elected president of Lebanon. He would succeed to the actual president, Elias Sarkis, one month later. Despite opposition to his election from various political groups, such as Moslems or Christian groups Gemayel had been fighting in the Civil War, his election had raised hopes that he might bring peace to Lebanon and the departure of foreign troups. Especially his promise that he would send home all foreign troups, that is, Syrians as well as Israelis, persuaded some of his earlier enemies. Further financial persuasion of delegates was assumed to tip the final vote in parliament in his favor, although for those on the left and in general the Moslem groups he remained a traitor, due to his close earlier ties with Israel, which supported the falangist army he had been leading since the civil war.

On September 14, Gemayel was having a last meeting with representatives and important officials of his Kataeb party. This meeting took place in the Party Headquarters in (Christian) East-Beirut. At 16 h.08, local time, however, a heavy bomb exploded in the building. Part of the building was destroyed and dozens of people were killed and many wounded. The subsequent events were confused. Gemayel himself was thought to have emerged from the rubble some time later, and to have taken to the hospital. Only in the evening, his mutilated body was finally found and his death officially announced by prime minister Wazzan. He would get a national burial the next day in his paternal village of Bikfaya. The local media announced his death only at eleven o'clock the same evening, and the first international wires, which had earlier reported his escape from death in a bomb explosion, then reported the assassination from around midnight. Just in time to reach part of the morning papers' deadlines in Western Europe on September 15th.

The same morning however, the Israeli army had taken a swift action with tanks and jets, and occupied West-Beirut, which they had hesitated to enter for a long time during the siege of the city that aimed to expell the PLO-troups from Lebanon. Army officials and government spokespersons declared that the occupation was intended only to ensure order after the assassination and to avoid factional killings (that is, revenge from the falangist army), and that the army would retire as soon as possible. This eventually happened on September 29 , two weeks later.

This, roughly, are the news events as they are reported in the press of September 15 through 17. Structurally speaking, then, we here witness what could be called a 'twin-event', that is, an important news event that immediately causes (or is taken to be a reason) for another important news event. As a general rule, this means that the latest event becomes more relevant for the press, not only because of its political implications, or the role of an important news actor, viz. Israel, but also because of its actuality. If the two events are reported on the same day, the invasion often becomes

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the major story, or the major topic of one story, and the assassination the 'previous, causal, event'. An analysis of so-called relevance structures of the news items can make such differences and their underlying rules more explicit.

Many newspapers also add background information about Gemayel, such as his personal characteristics, his career as a falangist army chief, and his political activities. They usually mention that two earlier attacks had been made on his life (in one of which his young daughter was killed), but also that he himself had been actively engaged in several harsh actions and in killings by his own troups, e.g. of Franjieh's son Tony and of followers of Chamoun. Similarly, background may be given about the political relations between Gemayel and his party with Israel, as well as some contextual information about peace attempts by e.g. American representatives such as Morris Draper. Finally, an analysis and speculations are made about the possible further developments in Lebanon (who would now be president?) and in the Middle-East. This information may be given in summarized form in a few lines, but sometimes it may be spelled out in detail in several background articles. This, however, is the case only for the Arabic press and a handful of quality newspapers, ranging from the *New York Times* and *El Pais* to the *Indonesian Times*.

All these major and minor events, as well as the background and context information in which they are embedded, may be presented in the news items or the newspapers in sometimes --apparently-- arbitrary order. The major events are of course summarized in the

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headlines or the leads, but the various details of the respective topics may then be delivered in discontinuous 'installments',in one or several news or background items. At this point, there may be a fairly substantial variation among the newspapers. In general, no newspaper will tell the story in a chronological order, more or less as we did above. Rather, the most important events, viz. the death of Gemayel due to a bomb explosion, and the invasion of West-Beirut, are always mentioned first, and earlier events will be mentioned later as possible causes, conditions or circumstances. Systematic schematic analysis will show such orderings of presentation of topics in more detail, and also the rules and strategies followed by journalists in such organizational patterns.

Due to the variation in the amount and order of events or in background information covered by the newspapers, serious comparison is possible only against some fixed 'standard'. We therefore have used a large amount of news and wire information from various sources to establish a List of Events. This list is roughly chronological, but also hierarchical: very important and global events are higher in the hierarchy than minor details.or details of details. This list is then used to measure the degree of completeness , the degree of specificity of news story descriptions, as well as the possible 'reorderings' in the chronological or hierarchical order of the facts as established by different newspapers. Of course, this list is merely a derived, and not an independent measure: we simply have no other information about the events but the reports by the media. Yet, concurrence of reports from several sources will as usual be taken as a reliable indication of the intersubjective 'factuality' of the events as reported. The theoretical problems involved in this kind of 'reliability or factuality of the news will be discussed in more detail later. But even our brief account of what happened in Beirut on September 14 and 15, 1982, shows how complex a full qualitative analysis of news items as compared to such facts may be. In this sense, even a rather ambitious quantitative and qualitative analysis can hardly scratch the surface.

5. Quantitative analysis of the data[1]

Although this study is mainly qualitative, we have also made a few quantitative analyses of the data. These data were obtained by scoring forms for each article (see p. 36 for the set-up of this form). Questions on the form pertained to the identification of the article, the newspaper, its region, country and language. For each article, then, it was indicated whether it was a proper news item, or a background feature, a commentary or another type of article, or whether or not photographs accompanied the article. A few elementary quantitative data were recorded about size of the article (in cm^2), the amount of columns, and size of the headlines (in mm). Finally, the various sources (agencies, correspondents and other sources), the major themes, and actors were indicated for each article.

It should be recalled that scoring of the newspaper articles was done by students and volunteers. Although the scorings were checked on a number of points, we have not been able to check the reliability of the scoring. Obviously, there will be considerable error especially for the more qualitative questions, e.g. those about the main themes and their sizes. Also, we could only score articles in accessible languages (English, Dutch, German, French, Spanish, Portuguese, the Scandinavian languages, Italian) or articles of which we had translations. This means that especially for the third world newspapers in

ANALYSIS SCHEMA FOR INTERNATIONAL NEWS

1. NEWSPAPER:
2. CODE:
3. COUNTRY:
4. DATE:
5. SERIAL N. ART.:
6. NUMBER OF ART.:
7. PAGES:
8. SIZE (cm²):
9. NUMBER OF COLUMNS OF TEXT:
10. WIDTH HEADLINE: Columns
11. PHOTO'S number of:
12. TOTAL SIZE OF PHOTO'S: cm²
13. KIND: N B C O
14. SIZE HEADLINE: mm.
15. SEPARATE LEAD: Yes / No
16. NUMBER OF LINES LEAD:
17.
a. Upper headline(s) ________
b. Main headline ________
c. Lower headlines

18. SOURCES (mention/circle all sources mentioned) NO MENTION OF SOURCES

UPI AP REUTER AFP TASS DPA OTHER AGENCIES. Which ones: ________

Corr. Journ. EDITORIAL DESK Other Sources ________

Location Main Source

19. MAIN THEMES headline: ☐ lead: ○

	number of lines
A.1. Meeting with Falange/Place	
2. Bomb attack (bomb, damage, wounded)	
3. Gemayel (first) thought wounded	
4. Gemayel (later) thought dead	
5. Direct consequences attack	
6. General political consequences in Lebanon/Middle East	
7. Political context (negotiations Lebanon/Israel/USA	
8. Military situation Leb. (parties)	
9. Personal history Gemayel/Falange	
10. Earlier attacks on Gemayel	
11. Election president/controversy	
12. History civil war Leb. in general	
13. Funeral	
14. Declaration/reaction attack (total) By (nrs. actors):	

	number of lines
B.1. Invasion Israel in WB	
2. Occupation Leb. by Isr. (in gen.)	
3. Consequences situation ME (speculations)	
4. Situation ME. in general	
5. Declarations/Reactions invasion (Total) by (nrs. actors):	
C. Other main themes (Please, write clearly)	
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	

20. MAIN ACTORS: Mark numbers as following: in headline: ☐ in lead: ○ in text: △

1. B. Gemayel
2. Other deads/wounded
3. Members of Falange/Christ. Mil.
4. Leb. politicians (mentioned)
5. Moslem groups/Left wing groups
6. PLO (L b. or elsewhere)
7. Family Gemayel
8. Israel (in gen.)
9. Army Isr.
10. Isr. Govn./Begin
11. Isr. saviours WB.
12. Arab leaders
13. Others in ME
14. Arafat
15. USA in general
16. Reagan or spokesman R.
17. Schultz
18. Draper
19. USSR/Brezjnev

21. Other reactions: Countries/Institutions/Persons: ________

22. Other (important) main actors: ________

23. EVALUATION PAPER (on attack/invasion)

Neutral	☐	PRO-FAL.	☐	PRO-ISRAEL	☐	PRO-USA	☐	PRO-ARAB	☐
Not clear	☐	ANTI-FAL.	☐	ANTI ISRAEL	☐	ANTI-USA	☐	ANTI-ARAB	☐

REMARKS/SPECIFICATIONS (if necessary continue on other side) ________ non-western languages we have relatively few scored data, which of course produces considerable bias in the computed frequencies and their distribution. Variations in the number of available newspapers from different countries contributed to the non-representativeness of our data, generally speaking. Thus, some newspapers, some countries and some regions are well-represented, and others are underrepresented, at least in absolute terms. We had very few newspapers from Africa, few newspapers from Asia, and few from North America, but relatively many from Western Europe. General conclusions about the data should therefore be made with care. Most of the descriptive statistics provide some general characteristics of our (admittedly large) sample of scored articles or newspapers, and observed differences (or similarities) between first and third world news characteristics are therefore only tentative. Complete and reliable quantitative analysis of large samples from world newspapers would not only require a practically impossible task of adequate sampling, but also a large number of reliable scorers who would master dozens of languages. It is not surprising therefore that fullfledged comparisons between news in first and third world papers are rare, or based only on very limited data (as to the number of newspapers, articles, dates, regions, countries or languages involved).

In this section we present quantitative results of a general nature. In the following, qualitative, chapters, we will add some quantitative measures to the systematic structural analyses of e.g. themes, actors, or schematic categories.

5.1. Number of articles/newspapers for different countries and regions

From the available 252 different newspapers 138 have been scored, at least partially, yielding 729 (scored) articles, i.e. about 5 articles per newspaper. These newspapers came from 72 different countries, so we had an average of about 2 newspapers for each country, but with a range of 1 newspaper for many countries on the one hand and 8 newspapers in England, on the other hand. From 29 "first world" countries (including North America, Europe, South-Africa[*], Israel, Australia, New-Zealand and Japan) 64 were represented, and from 43 "third world" countries 61. The Lebanese newspaper Le Réveil (a Falangist Party controlled paper), tops the score of articles analyzed with 54 in three days (September 15, 16, and 17), but for the newspapers outside of Lebanon, it is the New York Times with 18 different articles which leads the list (including articles about the Israeli invasion, as is the case for all measures given here). Most articles outside of Lebanon were also recorded for the US (41 for 4 newspapers), followed by England (35 in 8 newspapers), France (34 in 5), The Netherlands (34 in 6), West-Germany (31 in 5), Venezuela (24 in 3), Spain (23 in 6), and Indonesia (23 in 4). The other newspapers have 20 articles or less. We see that the average number of (scored) articles is highest in the USA (especially due to the amount, 18, of articles in the New York Times), Venezuela (8 articles in each paper), and France (nearly 7). Twenty-two newspapers have more than 10 articles about the events in Lebanon during these three days, of which 14 in third world countries.(see Appendix 1 for details).

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[*] Due to a computing error, South Africa has been taken as an 'African' country, and (therefore) as 'third world'. The resulting error in our statistics pertains to 2 newspapers, with 10 articles.

From these few frequencies we may provisionally conclude that the interest for the events in Lebanon throughout the world is substantial. Practically all newspapers carry the news of the assassination and of the Israeli invasion of West-Beirut. In three days, the average paper will publish 5 articles about these events, with highs up to 18 (lows not scored here, because several newspapers have been scored incompletely). A substantial amount of newspapers has more than 10 articles about the events, and this also holds for third world newspapers.

Most articles scored were dated September 16 (366, accounting for 49.5% of the cases), whereas we had 136 articles (18.4%) of September 15, and 227 articles of September 17 (30.7%). Apart from possible scoring bias, the high frequency of September 16 articles is easily explained by the fact that most newspapers east of Beirut carry the news only on September 16, due to time differences. Indeed, half as many (123) newspapers carry news about the assassination or the invasion on September 16, as on the other two days (87 on the 15th and 86 on the 16th).

Recall that whereas 729 articles were scored, there were in fact more articles published in the newspapers we examined, viz. 896, of which 169 on the 15th, 477 on the 16th and 250 on the 17th, but these could not all be analyzed. So only 82.5% of the actually appearing articles (in the papers examined) were scored, which means that on average the numbers on the previous page should be about 18% higher. The actual distribution of mean number of articles published in each paper in these three days, is thus 2:4:3, approximately.

If we look at these numbers for the various regions of the world (see Table 21), we notice first that Western Europe is best represented in our data, followed by the Middle East. Relatively few newspapers and articles have been scored from Africa and Asia. North America consists only of the USA and Canada, so that it does not score very high because we did not want to have too many newspapers from one country. Also due to language problems, as is the case for Asian newspapers, we were able to analyse only a few articles and newspapers from Eastern Europe. Despite these substantial differences, it is nevertheless the case that from each larger region (the Americas, Europe, Africa, and Asia/Oceania) we have a considerable amount of data for further analysis. (See Appendix 1, for a complete list of regions and the newspapers that have been analyzed in this case study).

In Table 22we have regrouped these data for first and third world newspapers. Differences between numbers of (scored, as well as published) articles about the events in Lebanon in first and third world countries are not very large: we have between 6%-22% more western articles/newspapers for the first two days of coverage, a difference made up for again on the 17th by third world newspapers, which with fewer newspapers carry about 37% more articles than the western newspapers. These differences also hold when we examine the number of articles actually published(and not just those analyzed by us) in the newspapers we have examined. In other words, our further analyses are based on nearly equal sample sizes of scored articles.

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Table 2.1. Number of (scored) articles about the events in Lebanon in newspapers of various regions of the world (Between parentheses the number of newspapers)

Region	Sept. 15	Sept. 16	Sept. 17	Total
North America	14(5)	21(5)	12(3)	47 (5)
Central America	15(9)	17(8)	25(10)	57 (11)
South America	21(12)	37(11)	27(8)	85 (13)
Western Europe	50(38)	142(47)	53(29)	245 (52)
Eastern Europe	1(1)	14(11)	13(9)	28 (13)
Middle East/N.Africa	19(7)	51(9)	39(3)	109 (9)
Africa	7(6)	38(12)	17 (9)	62 (13)
South Asia	5(5)	10 (5)	11(3)	26 (5)
East & SE Asia	3(3)	27(12)	23(9)	53 (15)
Australia/Oceania	1(1)	9(3)	7 (3)	17 (3)
Total	136(87)	366(123)	227(86)	729 (139)

Table 2.2 Number of scored and actually published articles in first and third world newspapers (between parentheses the number of newspapers)

First World	Sept. 15	Sept. 16	Sept. 17	Total
Analysed	70(47)	205(71)	88(46)	363 (76)
Published	96(47)	283(71)	100(46)	479 (76)
Third World				
Analysed	66(40)	161(52)	139(40)	366 (63)
Published	73(40)	194(52)	150(40)	417 (63)
TOTAL WORLD				
Analysed	136(87)	366(123)	227(86)	729 (139)
Published	169(87)	477(123)	250(86)	896 (139)

5.2. The size of the coverage

Frequencies of published items about an event of course only provide half of the picture that renders the 'amount' of coverage. We should also take into account the size of the individual items, and the total size of coverage per day, per newspaper or per country. Some newspapers, thus, describe the events in Lebanon in one larger article, whereas otherstend to bring a story in a main article with the central news events and deal with backgrounds, such as the personal history of Gemayel or the political context, in separate feature articles.

We have measured the size of coverage in square centimeters, instead of the usual column lengths, especially because columns differ considerably in width. The size includes headlines but not photographs, which are measured separately (see below). In Table 2.3. we have listed thirteen newspapers that have a total coverage of more than 2500 cm^2 (for the articles scored). Lebanese Le Réveil again appears to lead the list. Its 54 articles occupy more than 16,000 cm^2, followed at a distance by the New York Times with just over 6,000 cm^2, which was also second in number of articles published. The rest of the list contains a number of well-known quality newspapers, such as the Los Angeles Times, the Guardian, Le Monde, El Pais, and NRC-Handelsblad, but also features a number of South-American newspapers. This suggests that also when size is concerned there does not seem to be a significant difference between first and third world countries. At the lower end of the list, the same pattern can be observed, although listing here is biased by incom-

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Table 2.3. Newspapers that have the largest coverage of the events in Lebanon (decimals rounded) (Size $>$ 2500 cm^2).

	N art.	Size (cm^2) art.	Mean art.	SD
Le Réveil	54	16,198	300	342
New York Times	18	6,015	334	140
Los Angeles Times	12	3,884	324	186
NRC-Handelsblad	11	3,006	273	131
Le Monde	15	2,996	200	125
Le Soir	13	2,960	228	155
The Daily Journal	8	2,869	359	142
El Dia	15	2,776	185	53
El Universal	11	2,731	248	275
The Guardian	9	2,659	295	106
Het Laatste Nieuws	7	2,625	375	316
El Pais	14	2,615	187	131
El Moudjahid	13	2,529	195	206

Table 2.4. Size of coverage in different regions of the world

	N papers	Size (cm^2) art.	N art.	Mean art.	SD	Mean paper
North America	5	14,284	47	304	150	2,857
Central America	11	12,943	57	244	181	1,177
South America	13	21,618	85	257	215	1,663
Western Europe	52	64,021	245	256	175	1,255
Eastern Europe	13	6,145	28	219	189	219
Middle East	9	28,132	109	231	254	3,126
Africa	13	12,009	62	188	141	924
South Asia	5	4,252	26	164	120	850
East & SE Asia	15	10,978	53	234	173	732
Australia/Ocenia	3	5,005	17	294	145	1,668
FIRST WORLD	76	92,781	363	258	171	1,233
THIRD WORLD	63	86,606	366	229	207	1,374
TOTAL WORLD		179,387	729	243	191	1,300

plete scoring, especially of translated articles. Here, we find a number of tabloid newspapers, such as the Daily Mail and the Daily Mirror, in western countries, but also newspapers from Africa and especially those of Eastern Europe. Mean size of coverage per newspaper is 1300 cm^2 (measured for 139 newspapers in this sample). The majority of newspapers (81) fall below that mean size.

Whereas the average newspaper has 1300 cm^2 of coverage, the mean article size is 243 cm^2, with a standard deviation of 191, which suggests considerable variance in article size. We now get a very different pattern: instead of finding the well-known quality newspapers on top, we observe difference in regional 'styles'. Twelve newspapers have average article length of more than 500 cm^2, and 8 of these are in Spanish or Portuguese. Especially newspapers from Brazil and Portugal fall in this range, with a high of 1325 cm^2 for (one) article in A Capital. Apparently, these newspapers have a tendency to put all information about the events in one large article, instead of splitting them up into several items. Again, the tabloid newspapers score rather low, with a mean length of below 100 cm^2.

For our discussion, it is also important to have a look at the distribution of size of coverage or articles for the various regions. In Table 2.4 we first see that the total coverage of nearly 180.000 cm^2 is rather evenly distributed across first and third world articles: about 48% of the coverage appears in third world newspapers, and 52% in first world newspapers. The same holds for mean length of article, with first world articles being 14 cm^2

more than the world mean of 243 and third world articles being 14 cm^2 lower than the mean, a difference which appears to be significant at the 5% level according to a t-test.

Mean lengths for the various major regions also vary considerably, ranging from 304 cm^2 for North American newspapers, to 164 cm^2 for South Asian newspapers. Western European and Latin American newspapers score around the overall mean size of articles. Despite the large differences in article size between the individual regions, the overall difference between first and third world newspapers is much less pronounced when size means are compared. (We could not calculate size as proportions of editorial space!). The size of the articles measured in square centimeters gives us a good impression of the amount of coverage, but the articles may be presented in different lay-out: articles of the same length may be printed in just one column or across several columns, in the latter case accompanied by a larger headline. In general, articles that have more columns will be more salient. For the different regions of the world we have computed the mean widths of articles. Overall, the articles consist of 2.51 columns. First world articles have 2.64 columns and third world articles 2.38. (with an SD of about 1.40 for both). Especially the Eastern European, and the South-Asian articles remain below the mean number of columns, whereas the Australian and New Zealand newspapers are above the mean. We see that size in terms of number of columns corresponds fairly well with the overall amount of coverage or article length.

The presentation of an article is also determined by the size of the headlines. The mean size of the headlines for all articles is 6.89 mm, with those of first world articles somewhat bigger (7.11) and those of third world articles somewhat smaller (6.67). These differences are in accordance with the difference in article size in cm^2 and number of columns for these two 'parts' of the world.

We also looked whether articles had a lead that has been set off from the rest of the news item by larger or bolder type. Differences between newspapers (and countries) in printing style are such, however, that comparison is difficult on this point. Many newspapers have a lead that is identical with the first sentence(s) of the text, beginning directly below the headline(s). Only 109 articles (of 729) have such a separate lead. The average lead is about 8.6 lines long, with highs for Icelandic Morgunbladid (42 lines), The Indoneasian Times (34 lines) and El Moudjahid (33 lines). In general, leads in first world newspapers (12) are somewhat longer (9.9 lines) than those in third world newspapers (17) that have a separate lead (7,9 lines), but the presentational effect of this small difference is probably negligible.

Concluding this section, we may observe that the total coverage of the Lebanese events in first and third world newspapers we have analyzed is about the same, with first world articles being somewhat longer and third world coverage per newspaper somewhat higher. Also the presentation (columns, headlines, leads) of the articles is very similar. As far as the number and the size of articles are concerned, we do not find marked differences of coverage.

5.3. Photographs

Maybe even more than the size and the lay-out of articles, it is the presence or absence of photos which make news items salient. For the various regions of the world we therefore computed the number and size of photos. We found 387 photos in all articles (sometimes only photos), which is about 1 photo for each two articles. Since the newspapers carry about 5 articles on average, we may conclude that each average newspaper will carry at least two photographs. Again, there is no difference between the first and the third world newspapers in this respect: the first carry 196 photographs and the second group has 190. African, South Asian and Eastern European newspapers have much less photos (in accordance with their lower coverage), and the Middle-East (especially again Le Réveil of Lebanon) and Central America have more than the average amount of photos. A special case are the (first world) countries of East/SE Asia, viz. Japan, which have 26 photos accompanying 10 articles. In Chapter 7 we shall pay special attention to the kind of photos used in the various newspapers and regions.

The overall average size of photos is 64 cm^2 per article (i.e. including articles that have no photos). The actual size of an average photo, thus, is at least about 120 cm^2 (there is a photo for each two articles), which is about half of the average size of article text (243 cm^2, see Table 2.4). Inspection of the differences between first and third world yields a marked difference: for about the same number of articles we find that third world newspapers have nearly twice as much photo space (83 cm^2) than first world articles (43 cm^2). This is largely due to the vast amount of photos published in Le Réveil.

5.4. Category of articles: news, background or editorial commentary

Although we have seen that some newspapers tend to publish all information about the news events in just one article per day, others will tend to distinguish between the 'proper' news about the assassination or the invasion ('spot news'), on the one hand, and background or feature articles, on the other hand. Most newspapers also keep editorial commentary apart, although the news or background articles of course also contain (editorial) speculations or expectations about the political causes and consequences of the events (see Chapter 7.8. for an analysis of Editorials).

For the various article types we have again compared the first world and the third world newspapers. It was first found that about two thirds of the total number of articles could be categorized as proper news articles (65.2%), 18% as background articles, 11.7% as commentaries, and 5.1% as 'other'. Whereas the proportions of news articles are similar in first and third world newspapers, we found nearly half as much background articles in first world newspapers (21.4 vs. 14.7) --but the same proportion of editorials. The explanation for this difference may be either that third world newspapers tend to place background in the news article itself (cf.Ch.7.8.), or that they have less background information, and hence less background articles. This may be due to a limited access to relevant documentation (the news agencies only give the necessary background), less opportunities (lack of staff) for special political analysis, and also due to less correspondents in Beirut than first world newspapers. We shall come back to the 'sources' of the articles later (Ch.7).

5.5. Overall political evaluation by newspapers of the events

Generally speaking, the newspapers report about the events in Lebanon in a more or less neutral way. Both the assassination of Gemayel and the invasion of West-Beirut by the Israeli army are reported in the usual matter-of-fact style. Partisan views, if any, are to be expected especially in background and editorial articles. In order to obtain some frequencies and distribution for the overt or more implicit position of the newspapers, we have tried to indicate in the analysis of each article whether an overall point of view could be detected, e.g. pro- or anti- Gemayel, Falange, USA, Israel, Arab countries, etc. This judgement is of course rather subjective, and the results must therefore be considered with care: we may expect only some rough tendencies, which require further analysis in qualitative terms. A qualitative analysis would require a very subtle ideological analysis of topics, relevance structures, style and rhetoric, against the background of the overall political position and the style of a newspaper, the political context of the country of each newspaper, and in particular the positions about the situation in Lebanon and the Middle-East. Our quantitative data are based only on the rather 'surfacy' feature of style: choice of words to denote actors or their actions is taken as an indication of possible evaluation. When such a stylistic or lexical indication was not present, the article was scored to have either a 'neutral' or an 'unclear' position.

Of the articles scored for overall evaluation, 161 allowed more than one evaluation on the categories mentioned above, whereas 37 had three. Of the total of 925 registered evaluations, we first found that nearly 50% (49,08%) were neutral or unclear, which represents nearly 60% of all articles (note that more than one opinion could be scored for one article). There were slightly more (7.68%) pro than anti falange opinions (4.65%), and the same holds for the opinions about the role of the USA (7.46% pro, and 5.95% anti). Most clear-cut, as could be expected, were the opinions about Israel: 14.70% anti, and 7.03% pro. Finally, there were practically no anti-Arab opinions, and 2,7% pro-Arab opinions. If we take pro-Israel, pro-Falange and pro-USA opinions as deriving from one coherent attitude about the situation in the Middle-East and Lebanon (although in actual fact there may be considerable divergencies of course, especially in Israel itself), we obtain about 22% opinions from that attitude. Just over 25% of the opinions in that case would be anti-(Israel/Falange/USA). Thus, although the critical voices about the role of the Falange, Israel and the USA, are on the whole somewhat more frequent, we may observe an overall balance between neutral/unclear articles and opinionated articles, and between pro- and anti-(Israel/Falange/USA) opinions.

Note that the various opinions need not be consistent within one newspaper or even within one article. Often newspapers have both background articles that are rather critical about e.g. Israel (especially when the invasion is involved), but also articles which are neutral, unclear or more positive or understanding about the same actor.

Of course, there are differences between the opinions expressed in different newspapers, countries and world regions. In North-American newspapers, we find mixed opinions, although no anti-USA positions. Newspapers appear rather critical of Israel (e.g. the New York Times and Los Angeles Times), but others, such as the Wall Street Journal, convey a more pro-Israel and pro-USA point of view. Cuban Granma and Nicaraguan La Barricada are of course anti-Falange. Also, Granma systematically uses 'zionist' to refer to Israeli troops, whereas El Imperial on the contrary seems more pro-Israel. On the whole Latin-American newspapers seem to be rather anti-Falange and anti-Israel (no opinions about the USA), except e.g. for El Commercio and El Universal.

Western European newspapers are very diverse in their opinions. Critical voices against Israel predominate, but there is also a rather positive evaluation of the role of the Falange, especially in the more conservative newspapers (Times, Figaro, France Soir, Frankfurter Allgemeine, Die Welt, etc.). A few positive evaluations of the USA, no negative ones. The Eastern European newspapers are consistently anti-Israel, and the same holds for the majority of Arabic newspapers, which are also anti-Falange (except for Le Réveil of course, which alone accounts for large part of the pro-Falange percentage of opinions). Kayhan International of Iran is most explicitly anti-Israel and anti-Falange, and seems to be the only newspaper which explicitly welcomed the death of Gemayel. The Israeli newspapers we have analyzed (Ha'aretz and Ma'ariv) have mixed opinions, both critical and more positive about the role of the Falange and Israel in the actual events. Here, as well as for the other newspapers, there are of course differences in the evaluation of the assassination and its consequences and of the invasion of West-Beirut. But, on a somewhat more abstract level, the identification of Gemayel as an ally of Israel (and of the USA), provides of course some coherence to pro-Israel and pro-Falange opinions. Given the anti-Falange position of the Lebanese Moslems, the overall Arab position would be predictably anti-Falange and anti-Israel, but things are somewhat more complicated when the role of Gemayel as a possible unifying leader of a 'problematic' country is involved. They might loath his political background but might nevertheless recognize the importance of a 'strong man' for Lebanon. This ambiguity, for that matter, can also be detected in other opinions about the assassination and the person of Gemayel. Overall, few newspapers picture Gemayel in a completely negative way: as a person he is portrayed as authoritarian and militant (if not violent), but as a president-elect, one seems to accept the state of affairs and his possible (positive) role for Lebanon.

Except for South-African Die Burger, the African newspapers were evaluated as being rather critical of the Falange and of Israel. The Asian newspapers on the contrary tend to be more pro-Israel , pro-USA, and pro-Falange, except for the Indonesian Observer, for example.

So, although overall pro- and anti- opinions seem to be balanced, there is a general tendency to be radically against or at least critical of Israel. This is probably due in particular to the Israeli invasion of West-Beirut, which was condemned by practically all parties/points of view involved, including not only the Arab or other third world countries, but also by Western Europe and the USA. Against the background of such a general political consensus, newspapers need hardly be reticent with their opinion about Israel.

Although the total amount of 'biased' opinions is about 50% of all opinions (and characterizes 40% of the articles), only in about 30% of the newspapers (out of 139) we find more than half of the articles with an opinion that is not neutral or unclear, whereas in 15% of the newspapers all articles had a non-neutral opinion. Neutrality and expressed opinions, finally, are distributed evenly throughout the different regions, both in the first and the third world. Overall, about 64% of first world articles have neutral or unclear evaluations, whereas this is the case in about 58% of third world newspaper articles. Overall, anti-Israeli opinions are high in both first and third world articles (17%), and about half of this number is pro-Israel, also both in first and third world news articles. Third world articles generally have more opinions about the role of the Falange, and usually more positive (12.5%) than negative (7.1%). The most obvious difference between first and third world news opinions lies in their evaluation of the USA. Only a few percent of first world newspapers are anti-USA, whereas 10% is pro. In third world articles pro- and contra-USA are balanced (7% each). There are few opinions regarding Arab groups and countries in the first world press (at least no pro-Arab ones), whereas the third world dailies feature somewhat more negative than positive evaluations towards this (of course very diverse) group . When we look at the overall evaluations given in different regions, we find --expectedly-- that the Eastern European press is most consistently anti-Israel and anti-USA, followed by that of Central America and the Middle-East (the latter also has more than 26% anti-Arab articles!), whereas East and South East Asia appear to be most pro-Israel and pro-USA (in 80% of the articles in that region we find these opinions!).

From these few quantitative results we may conclude that the overall differences between evaluations in the first and the third world press are slight, but that the differences between various regions may be considerable, depending on a combination of regional, political and ideological factors. Many of these opinions appear to be given relative to the background themes of the Gemayel story and (especially in Eastern Europe) as reactions to the Israeli invasion of West Beirut. In Chapter 7.8., we shall examine in somewhat more detail the qualitative dimension of these opinions, especially those expressed in editorials.

5.6. Provisional conclusions

From our first series of quantitative analyses of the data (frequencies and distribution of content variables, such as themes and actors will be given later, see Chapter 3), we may first conclude that for the newspapers and articles we have been able to analyse, we have not found marked differences between the coverage of the events by newspapers in the developing and in the developed countries. Throughout the world, the interest for the assassination of Gemayel and the invasion of West-Beirut is substantial. The average newspaper carries about 5 articles in three days (for our scored data), but many will at least have as much as 10. Most articles (nearly half) are published in September 16. Since we could not score all articles of the selected newspapers, real numbers are even (about one fifth) higher. Most articles we analyzed appeared in Western European newspapers, but Central and South America (taken together) and the Middle East also have a large share of the total amount. Eastern Europe and Africa score rather low as to amount of articles (also per newspaper). Overall, there is hardly a difference between the number of articles published in first and third world newspapers. The same holds for the overall size of the coverage, although the mean length of third world articles is somewhat less. Some articles in portuguese (from Brazil and Portugal) are however relatively long. On all accounts, Lebanese Le Réveil leads the scores: number of articles, amount of coverage, and number of photos, followed at a distance by major western newspapers such as the New York Times. Yet, there are also a number of third world newspapers that have considerable coverage, both in number of articles and in amount of coverage (in cm^2). Mean size per newspaper is highest in the Middle East, which is mainly due to the coverage of Le Réveil, followed by the North American newspapers. Also the South American and the Australian newspapers are above average in total amount of coverage, with European newspapers about average (due also to their high share in the total number of articles analyzed). Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia have (much) less than the average amount of coverage, which may partly be due to our lack of data from those regions.

When we take the lay-out dimension of the articles, we also find no marked differences between first and third world newspapers: third world articles are just a bit less broadly printed and (therefore) also will have somewhat smaller headlines. The amount of photographs is also more or less equal in both the third and the first world newspapers, but the average size of the third world photos is twice that of photos in western newspapers (again due mostly to the vast pictures in Le Réveil).

Finally, the distribution of articles across different categories is about equal for proper news articles, whereas first world newspapers have about 50% more background articles.

So, whereas there may be considerable differences between large regions of the world in numbers and size of articles, the overall differences between first and third world newspapers are slight. Since the variance among papers in each country and region is mostly vast, we may conclude that differences between newspapers or coverage is more significant within countries or within larger regions than among them. There is certainly a big difference between Western European and Eastern European coverage, and the same holds for the difference between say North America and Africa, but then again we find also marked differences between quality newspaper coverage and tabloid, popular, newspapers in Western Europe. Although we have no strict definition of 'quality newspapers', it might be provisionally concluded that in general these will pay most attention to the events, more or less independently of their region or country. On the whole, Latin America is very well represented, accounting for nearly 20% of the total coverage in our data. Note also that the low scores for Africa are caused in part by the fact that we have counted the North-African, mostly Arabic or French newspapers, among those of the Middle East.

Our quantitative conclusions should be interpreted with care. Due to practical problems of scoring, translation, and availability of newspapers, we have a rather biased selection of newspapers from different countries and regions of the world, although many countries and all regions are represented. Western Europe, thus, seems overrepresented, and North America maybe somewhat underrepresented when sample size is compared with estimated total amount of newspapers in these regions. Unfortunately, we could only analyse few papers from Africa, the Middle East and Asia. Especially, the arabic newspapers are lacking. Given their coverage of the events, their analysis would certainly have (further) heightened the scores for Middle East coverage. If differences exist between first and third world newspapers, these should appear in our qualitative analysis in the next chapters.

Chapter Three

THEMATIC ANALYSIS

1. The Interpretation of Themes in a (News) Discourse

1.1 Thematic structure as semantic macrostructure

Language users, and therefore also newspaper readers, have an intuitive notion of what a 'theme' or a 'topic' of a discourse or text is. It is 'what a text is about', globally speaking, and represents the 'upshot' or the 'gist' of what was said or written. In our case study about Lebanon, for instance, readers will be able to say that a specific news item was about 'the assassination of Gemayel', or about 'the invasion of West-Beirut by the Israeli army'. Notice that these intuitively assigned themes or topics of the news items characterize these items as wholes: the themes cannot simply be assigned to one or two sentences of the texts. In other words, themes or topics belong to the macro-level of analysis of a text. Since they have to do with the global content , meaning or reference (what the text is 'about'), themes require explicit description in terms of a semantic theory. Indeed, the theoretical notion underlying the intuitive notions of theme and topic is that of what we call semantic macrostructure of a text (van Dijk, 1972, 1977, 1980). For reasons of simplicity, however, we will often just use the current notions of 'theme' or 'topic' to denote the overall meaning of a news item.

Obviously, texts often have more than one theme. Some of our news items, for instance, have at least two major themes, viz. the assassination and the invasion theme. These themes may be related, e.g. temporally or causally: the invasion is presented as a consequence of the assassination. But, news items may also have lower level (sub-)themes. Thus, in the assassination story, we may have sub-themes such as 'at first he was thought to have survived the explosion', or 'he was buried in his hometown'. In other words, a text has a hierarchical *thematic structure*, which consists of one or more main themes, and at several levels different (sub-)themes. Such a structure may be rendered with the familiar device of a tree graph, as we see in Figure3.1(next page). The lowest level (of non-thematic propositions) is sometimes called the *microstructure* of a text. Structural relationships in such a thematic organization of a text may be both linear and hierarchical. Linear links between themes are for instance of the temporal or conditional nature we have witnessed above (e.g. *A* causes *B*, *B* enables *C*, etc.). Hierarchically, themes are related by recursive *macrorules*: a sequence of several themes is 'resumed' at a higher level by one, more general, theme. Thus, an assassination, taken as a high level theme, may have sub-themes as 'bomb attack' or 'shooting', '*X* is dead/wounded', 'Attackers are searched by police', and so on. Thus, each theme by definition is a sort of 'summary' of the meaning units, so-called *propositions*, from which it can be derived by the macrorules. The level of abstractness or generality of a theme in a text is of cour-

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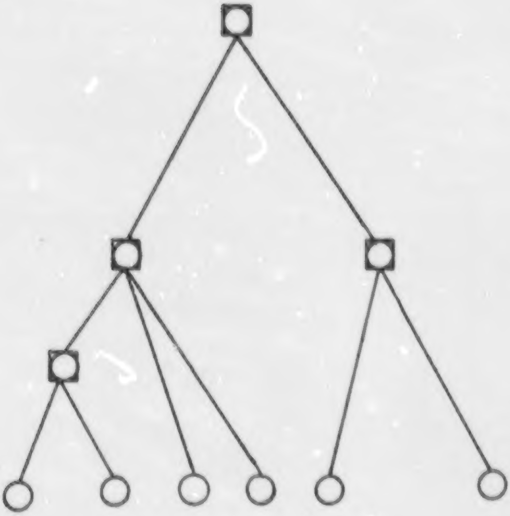

Figure 3.1. A schematic representation of the thematic structure, or macrostructure, of a text. Circles represent propositions, and circles in squares represent macropropositions or themes

as text-dependent. What is the main theme in the first news item about the assassination of Gemayel, may become a sub-theme in another news item. For instance, later news about the election of a new president, namely Bechir's brother Amin, will 'remind' (Schank, 1982) the reader of the previous events and briefly mention or summarize the events of the assassination. The same happened in the later news (early 1984) about violent conflicts in Lebanon between different groups.

Themes not only are the unifying or global meaning units of a text, but also represent what we intuitively call the 'important', 'prominent' or 'relevant' content of a text (see also Jones, 1977). The theoretical semantic macrostructure, therefore, also accounts for these crucial intuitive notions, which also play an important role in news production and news text structures. Notions such as 'importance' or 'relevance' are routinely used by editors when they decide to bring a news item or not, or to assign it to a prominent position in the paper. Although formal representations can be given for notions like 'importance', they are of course not *objective* in the strict sense. Importance or relevance are *relative* notions, and embody the set of goals, values or criteria an editor or reporter use to *assign* importance or relevance to a story. This means that of the same events news stories may be written which have different thematic structure: in one story, a theme may be placed higher in the hierarchy, or in a different conditional relationship, than the same theme in another story.

Themes are semantic units. This means that we cannot directly 'see' them. Yet, they are of course *expressed* in a text. Trivially, themes are expressed by the sequences of sentences which they 'resume'. The theme 'a heavy bomb exploded', thus, is expressed by all the sentences that describe aspects of that bomb explosion. Usually, we take conditions, components and direct consequences as such aspects that belong to one theme. Yet, more interesting for the analysis of news stories is the fact that such texts signal main themes in a more direct way, viz. by headlines and lead. That is, we take the headlines and the lead as the direct expression of the 'summarizing' themes. The headline resumes the highest level main theme, and the lead usually formulates other important themes. Theoretically speaking, then, the headlines and the lead are the textual expression of the semantic macrostructure of a news item. Since thematic importance may be subjective, also headlines may be 'biased'. In that case they do not express the main theme of the text, but e.g. a lower level theme, or some (subjective) inference or evaluation of the main theme, as in LIBAN: L'INCERTITUDE (in L'Opinion, 15.9.). Also, further sub-headings may be used in the text to express 'local' themes.

It should be stressed here that themes or topics as we define them have a propositional nature. They are what we may call 'macropropositions', that is, propositions derived from sequences of propositions due to macrorules. A single concept like 'assassination' or 'invasion' is as such not a theme, but at most a (nominalized) central predicate in a thematical proposition. We add this caveat here, because there is also an intuitive notion of 'theme' that would be equivalent with that of a single concept, such as when we say that a poem is about the theme of 'love' or 'death'. In this case, we do not have concrete themes, but rather concepts for theme classes or categories. Similarly, in a newspaper we may have several items about the 'theme' of terrorism, or about 'developing countries'. We do not call these concepts themes however, but --for instance-- subject categories. In our case study only propositions like 'Gemayel died because of a bomb attack' or 'The bomb exploded during a party meeting' may function as themes.

Theoretical analysis not always provides precise suggestions for doing a more practical analysis. In our systematic description of news items, we need some effective procedure to isolate the themes and the thematic structure from such items. Headlines and lead are important strategic cues in this respect, but they do not fully express the complete thematic structure. And, they may also be biased. Hence, themes should be inferred from the respective sentences of the text. Theoretically, this should be done by the application of semantic macro-rules, or 'summarization' rules. For a practical analysis, the use of such formal rules is cumbersome, and we therefore make use of the language users ability to summarise sequences of sentences into one or two sentences. These will then simply be taken as expressions of the thematic macrostructure of a sequence of sentences. For instance, a series of sentences in which it was described how purportedly Gemayel crept from the rubble of his party headquarters, was unharmed, and so on, may simply be summarized as 'Gemayel survived the explosion unharmed', which indeed is also used as a headline in early press reports. As another practical rule we take it that each theme must be derived from more than one proposition. In practice this means that most themes in a news text should comprise at least a complex sentence, or rather, two sentences in the text. The usual textual unit that is taken to correspond to one theme is the *paragraph* (Longacre, ed. 1977; Longacre, 1979; Hinds, 1979). Paragraphs in written texts are conventionally marked by indentation. In principle, each new paragraph will open up a new (sub-)theme. But this convention is not always followed, due to carelessness, time pressure, or simply 'bad writing'. But we will here assume that each paragraph which expresses a coherent sequence of propositions (what we call an 'episode'; van Dijk, 1982) can be summarized by at least one macroproposition, that is, by one theme or topic.

Another typical feature of news discourse is that themes are not always expressed by continuous sequences of sentences. Rather, they are expressed by different 'installments' of such a sequence. And, in contrast to everyday stories, they are not expressed in such a way that conditions, causes or backgrounds are mentioned first, and consequences, or results in last position. On the contrary, usually the most important events or their results are mentioned first in a news story. Only later do we find further details. That is, a usual story is expressed proposition by proposition as we find them at the lowest level of Figure 3.1. A news story starts, so to speak, at the top of the graph , and expresses the highest level macroproposition first, namely as a headline, and then proceeds to the lower level propositions, and finishes with the details at the bottom. This means, among other things, that we cannot simply take the respective paragraphs of a news item, summarise these, and then end up with a list of themes. Rather, the first paragraphs may consist themselves of propositions that have thematic roles, so that later paragraphs can provide the details about such respective themes. This means that a paragraph or even a sentence in a news text, unlike most other discourse forms, may express two or more themes at the same time. Paragraph indentation in the news item, therefore, is not just a signal for topic change horizontally speaking (a next event is now being described), but rather of a topic change in vertical direction (we now give more details of the theme(s) that have been mentioned before).

1.2. Interpreting themes: the cognitive dimension

What has been briefly described above as the thematic structure of a (news) text, is inspired by a more or less linguistic and structuralistic approach. We did as if texts 'have' themes or thematic structures, much in the same way as we say that words, sentences or discourses 'have' meaning. This, of course, is only a simplifying abstraction. Meanings are assigned to words, sentences or texts by language users. They exist only as cognitive, conceptual structures in the heads of these language users. The same holds for themes and thematic structures. It is the writer or reader who assigns semantic macrostructures to a text. In news understanding, readers do this by using effective comprehension strategies. Thus, they have strategies to understand the overall meanings, themes or topics of a text, so-called macrostrategies (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). Such strategies are much more flexible than rules. They accept incomplete information, and may operate on information that comes from various sources at the same time, such as the text itself, the context of communication, or our previous knowledge and beliefs in memory. (Macro-)rules only operate on one (semantic) level.

For news understanding, there are a number of conventional devices for the derivation of semantic macrostructures, that is for the assigment of themes in a news story. The major one we already have discussed above, viz. the headline and the lead. More than any other text, the newspaper item shows its topical structure explicitly. As a powerful hypothesis, the reader will assume that the proposition expressed in the headline represents the highest topic of the text as a whole. This is an effective strategy, because it simply is often correct. Once the reader has this major topic stored in memory, it is also easier to (i) understand the respective words and sentences of the news item as they are 'summarized' by that topic, and (ii) to construct other topics, e.g. as sub-topics, or conditionally related topics. In other words, headlines --as journalists know-- are vital for the processing of a newsstory. They not only attract attention, and not only summarise the story --which allows us to 'skim' stories just by reading the headlines (which will give us the upshot of the news anyhow), but also provide a strategic cue for the local understanding of the news. They guide, top down, the understanding process. This means that for inattentive readers biased headlines may he strong cues to misinterpret the rest of the text, or to assign a wrong thematic structure to the text; a detail becomes the pervasive upshot of the story in that case, for example.[1]

Topics and knowledge of the world

Readers are able to assign topics to a text only when they have at their disposal vast amounts of *knowledge of the world*. The same holds true for the comprehension and the thematic analysis of news stories. Thus, news about Lebanon can be understood only if we know that Lebanon is a country, that certain kind of events can happen in a country (which cannot happen in a glass for instance), that countries may have presidents, and that *therefore* Lebanon may have a president, that presidents are human beings, and that human beings are mortal, and that therefore it may be the case that the president of Lebanon dies, etc. In other words, as soon as we start to read a news story, a vast network of knowledge is addressed, and partly activated, in the memory of the reader. The text *presupposes* this knowledge by leaving much of this information implicit. It may simply say *the president of Lebanon*, and thereby refer to a specific person, without first telling about the fact that Lebanon is headed by a president, or that such a president is human or might die.

Moreover , if a news item describes a specific situation, such as the assassination of Bechir Gemayel, it will usually only tell us (or at most remind us of) *relevant and new* information. All other, presupposed, information remains implicit. The description of a situation in a news text, then, can be compared with the well-known iceberg:most information remains unseen, i.e. unexpressed. Yet, if we want to understand what the text actually expresses, we must activate much of the presupposed information, and combine it with the new information of the text. This combination of various sorts of information allows us to make a memory representation of 'what happened', that is, an internal 'picture of the situation'. Such a memory representation of a situation, is called a *model* (Johnson-Laird, 1983; van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983; van Dijk, 1984). If we read about the assassination of Gemayel, we construct a memory model of that situation. Only part of the information that is used to construct such a specific model will be drawn from the text itself. The other information is drawn from (i) what we have read or heard about Lebanon before --that is from previous models-- and (ii) from our general knowledge about Lebanon as a country, about the Middle East, about civil wars, about terrorist attacks and bomb explosions, about the possible consequences of such explosions, and so on. This general information about the world can only be effectively used when it is well organized. It is therefore assumed that such knowledge comes in structured clusters which have a socially shared, conventional content and organization, so-called *scripts* or frames (Schank & Abelson, 1977). Thus, we may have a script that represents our socio-cultural knowledge about 'eating in a restaurant', and others that represents our knowledge about 'having a party' or 'going to work'. Similarly, based on our reading of the newspaper, we may have developed scripts for 'war', 'civil war', or even the 'assassination of a president'. The newsstory, presupposing such scripts in well-informed readers, only needs to provide the new or specific information that characterises the *actual* events. This means that a model as we have described it above, may sometimes be a specific (partial) instantiation of a script. This allows readers to imagine the actual situation by building a model around a number of fixed scriptal categories. In the assassination script, for instance, we will typically find a slot for the 'agents' of the assassination, and a reader will therefore search for information in the text about who killed the president. This also happens in the reading of the news about the killing of Gemayel, and journalists know this: they will therefore attend to this slot and at least write that the killers are still unknown, as is the case in the Gemayel assassination story.[8]

Discourse in general, and news discourse in particular, is geared towards the construction, by the reader, of situation models. In many cases this means that if news stories are about the 'same' situation, the new model may be used to update a model we already had constructed from previous news accounts. This is exactly what happens. Our model about the actual situation is further enriched by the specific (particular) model we build about the assassination of Gemayel. This new information will be added to the more general model we have about the situation in Lebanon. It therefore makes sense to distinguish, indeed, between general models and particular (specific, unique, new) models. Our general aim when reading the newspaper, then, is to update our models of the world(See Figure 3.2.). When models become sufficiently general, and can be used for different situations or contexts, they can be further abstracted and form the scripts or frames we have mentioned above. Our models are so to speak personal and subjective representations of situations we have observed or read about. They are integrated structures of our expe-

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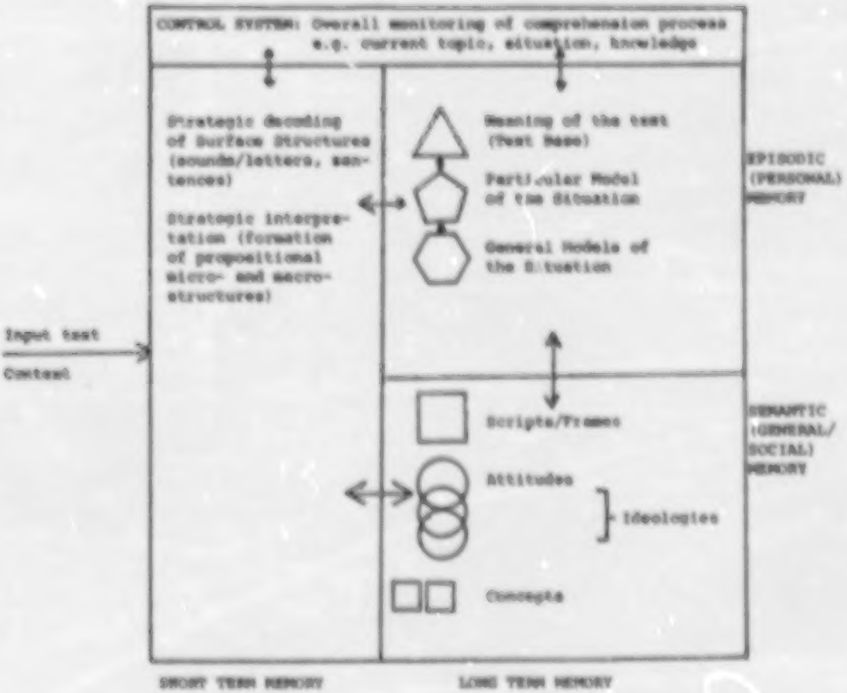
CONTROL SYSTEM: Overall monitoring of comprehension process
e.g. current topic, situation, knowledge
Strategic decoding of Surface Structures (sounds/letters, sentences)
Strategic interpretation (formation of propositional micro- and macrostructures)
Meaning of the text (Text Base)
Particular Model of the Situation
General Models of the Situation
EPISODIC (PERSONAL) MEMORY
Scripts/Frames
Attitudes
Ideologies
Concepts
SEMANTIC (GENERAL/SOCIAL) MEMORY
Input text
Context
SHORT TERM MEMORY
LONG TERM MEMORY

Figure 1.2. Simplified schema of text comprehension processes and the representation of texts and other knowledge and beliefs in memory.

riences. Scripts on the other hand are generally shared, socialized knowledge and beliefs. They guarantee that despite personal differences between experiences of readers, we still more or less understand stories 'in the same way'.

Now, models and scripts are crucial in the derivation of topics for a text. Only if we have scriptal or other general information about the details of a bomb explosion, we are able to understand a sequence of sentences that describe such details as the description of a bomb explosion. That is, even when the words 'bomb' and 'explosion' are not mentioned in the text, we are able to summarize such a text by the topical proposition 'A bomb exploded'. And similarly, if we read about a bomb exploding in the headquarters of a political party, resulting in the death of an important politician, we may infer that this event was an instance of an 'assassination'. The same holds for the derivation of other topics from the news stories about the assassination of Gemayel or the invasion of West-Beirut by the Israelis. We may even assume that the model we build of that event features high level macropropositions that also function as topics in the overall representation of the text. This allows us to compare the overall structure of a situation as we understand it with the overall structure of a text as we understand it. Differences between such a text base, as we-call the semantic representation of a text in memory, and a model, may lead to evaluations such as 'biased' or even 'false'. Models, then, are the subjective (and possibly intersubjective) basis on which we can evaluate the truth value and the relevance of discourse. Obviously, if we only had news discourse from one source as input, our models may themselves be 'wrong' as compared to other, more complete or correct models. Intentionally, we do not say here 'as compared to reality', because we only are able to understand discourse or situations relative to the models we have about reality. In other words, models may only be biased, wrong, incomplete, etc. relative to other models. In our case, for instance, the Israeli army and government, through their declarations about the invasion, sought to establish their models of the situation. Such models feature the possible civil or military disorder in West-Beirut as a consequence of the assassination of Gemayel, as a defensible reason for the invasion. Other participants or newspaper readers might however build another model, in which the 'real' reason for the invasion is attributed to the Israeli desire to exert control over (Islamic) West-Beirut. Such a different model of the situation may be built up from previous information we have about Israeli actions in Lebanon and from information about the Israeli policy in Lebanon and the Middle-East.

Trying to understand the assassination of Gemayel, we have seen, involves the construction of a model of that event. Yet, such a model should 'make sense'. For instance, it should be coherent, and feature logical, political, historical, social or psychological relationships between events, actions or participants. Our general knowledge about assassinations and civil wars, then, will make us guess who the killers could have been, and we will then search for possible enemies of the president or anybody else who would profit from his death. If no one would directly profit from his death,

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we would be left with a seriously incomplete model of the situation. In that case we say that we 'don't understand' the event, even if we perfectly understand what happened. Our ignorance or lack of understanding in that case pertains to the deeper details, causes or intentions, involved in the events and actions. This also suggests why apparently conflicting explanations could be given of the event: the Israelis would tend to blame the leftist, Moslem enemies of Gemayel, or maybe even his Christian foes of other factions, whereas PLO-leader Arafat, visiting the Pope in Rome at that moment, declared that the Israelis were behind the assassination. Since Gemayel was considered an ally of Israel, such a direct attribution would not make sense, unless --as Arafat did-- it is specified that Gemayel was planning to loosen his ties with Israel so as to guarantee support in Lebanon also from other groups.

Summary

We have discussed the discourse analytical and the cognitive foundations of the notion of topic or theme in somewhat more detail because they play a central role in the structures and the understanding of news discourse. The various theoretical notions we have introduced allow a detailed analysis of many features of news discourse, and also explain how such news items are read, understood and memorized.

Summarizing the rather complex theory, of which we were able to specify only a rough, informal outline, we first conclude that themes or topics represent the global, overall meaning of a text. Such topics can be explicitly described in terms of semantic macro-

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structures. Such macrostructures have a propositional nature, and are derived from other propositions, which are expressed by sequences of sentences, by way of macrorules. Such rules 'summarize' parts of the text, and at the same time define what is most important, prominent or relevant in a passage or text. The thematic structure of a text is hierarchical, and features themes at different levels of generality or specificity. Themes also define the global coherence of the text.

Secondly, news items have some specific macrostructural features. Their themes are signalled directly by headlines or leads, and are discontinuously expressed in the respective paragraphs of the text. Instead of following the linear (temporal, logical, or causal) ordering, they express topics in a 'top down' fashion: important information first, details later. Headlines may be biased if they do not express the major topic of a macrostructure.

Thirdly, we have shown that in order to derive, both as a reader and as an analyst, the topics of a text, we make use of a number of cognitive strategies. One strategy is to take headlines and lead as the expression of the major themes of the text. The text itself, however, is merely the tip of the iceberg of a complete representation or model of a situation. Other knowledge of the world or beliefs are presupposed by the text (or the writer). News is intended to form new or update old models in memory. Models are subjective, and may hence differ: we have different interpretations of the 'same' situation. This whole cognitive process of understanding, involving the assigment of topics, is finally based on general, socio-culturally shared, frames or scripts. These provide the general knowledge and beliefs that allow us to understand words, actions, events and the general structures of situations (e.g. assassinations, invasions, presidents, civil wars, etc.). Without such scriptal knowledge we would not be able to derive topics from proposition sequences in a text. Topical concepts are drawn from the higher levels of models and scripts we have about social or political situations. We have shown in a number of examples how these various theoretical constructs can be used in the analysis of the news of our case study. And against the background of this theoretical framework, we are now able to become more concrete about the thematic organization of the various news items that appear in different papers and regions of the world about the assassination of Gemayel. They all have the assassination of Gemayel as a high level topic, but this does not mean that their thematic structures are identical. And differences between thematic structures, as signalled in the news items, may reveal differences in the assignment of relevance or importance to certain events, differences in situation models, difference in cultural scripts, and so on. In this way, a subtle, qualitative analysis of specific structures of international news allows us to make inferences about vitally important 'underlying' constraints upon the thematical organization of news, such as different political models of the situation or different socio-cultural contexts in the assigment of topics.

2 . *Thematic analyses of some sample news items*

In this section we will make a thematic analysis of a selection of news items about the assassination of Bechir Gemayel. These items have been taken from the following newspapers:

1. *New York Times* (USA), 15.9.82
2. *Granma* (Cuba), 15.9.82
3. *Excelsior* (Mexico), 15.9.82
4. *El Universal* (Venezuela), 15.9.82
5. *El Pais* (Spain), 15.9.82
6. *Svenska Dagbladet* (Sweden), 15.9.82
7. *Renmin Ribao* (China),
8. *Indonesian Times* (Indonesia), 16.9.82

Although the choice of newspapers in some respects must be arbitrary in this stage of research, they have been selected according to the following criteria: (i) they should be both from developed and developing countries, (ii) they should represent different regions of the world (North America, Middle America, South America, Western Europe, and Asia), and (iii) they should represent different ideological backgrounds. The order of their analysis here is 'regional'.

Although some of these papers, such as the *New York Times*, feature several stories on the same day, we only have selected the news stories about the assassination of Gemayel, and not those that also are about the invasion of West-Beirut by the Israeli army, nor the background features about Gemayel or Lebanon.

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2.1. New York Times

To introduce our thematic analysis and to relate it to the theoretical remarks of the first main section of this chapter, our first steps will have a more exploratory nature. As an example, we start with the news story in the New York Times, printed on pages 1 and 8. Other stories about the events include reports about the reactions of the USA administration, a background piece about the situation in Lebanon, an obituary about Gemayel, and an Editorial ("Official Comment"). Of course, what other newspapers print as context or background information (see next chapter for a theoretical account of these 'functions' of news information), is here partly distributed also over these accompanying stories. Our analysis is limited to what we may call the Main Story, featuring the Main Events of the news.

Headlines and Lead

We have assumed earlier that the Headlines and the Lead of a news-story may express the semantic macrostructure, that is, the major topics or themes of the news item. The New York Times uses a multiple Headline:

(3.1.) a. GEMAYEL OF LEBANON IS KILLED
IN BOMB BLAST AT PARTY OFFICES
b. Hussein Praises Reagan's Mideast Plan
c. 8 Reported Slain
d. President-Elect was 34
e. --No Group Reports
Making the Attack

In our rendering of Headlines, here and below, we print the main headline in CAPITALS, and other (upper or lower) headlines in normal

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type, even if they differ in size or boldness in the newspaper layout (we will attend to these 'presentation' characteristics later). Part of the Headline, viz. (2.1.b) about Reagan's Mid-East plan, is covered by a separate story, and will not be further analyzed here.

The Lead, expressed in the first paragraph of the news story (in normal type, whereas other newspapers often use larger and bolder type for Lead sections), repeats some of the topics expressed in the Headlines (after the Dateline, which we disregard now):

(3.2.) a. Gemayel was killed on Tuesday
b. A Bomb shattered the Headquarters of the Falangist Party
c. The Government said that Gemayel would be buried today
(= wednesday, September 15).

The only new topic introduced in the Lead is the information about the burial of Gemayel. According to the theoretical framework, we may now expect that headline and lead information will act as topics for the rest (the 'body') of the news item.

Body

Topics are distributed discontinuously across the text of a news item. To reconstruct the thematic structure of this text, we will however follow, linearly, the information as expressed in the respective sentences and paragraphs. To assign some preliminary structure to each topic thus inferred from text expressions, we make use of a number of semi-theoretical terms, denoting general properties of events and situations: Circumstances, Actor(s), Consequences, etc. The reason behind this preliminary organization of topical information is twofold: (i) these categories can be taken as semantic categories of (macro-)propositions, which define the topics of the news story, and (ii) they may suggest specific *functions* of these macropropositions for the news story. These functions will be analyzed in more detail in the next chapter. They define the overall *superstructure* of a (conventional) *news schema*. This schema is, so to speak, the overall form (or 'macro-syntax') in which the overall content (or 'macro-semantics') of the topics is inserted. Although the overall form and the overall content sometimes seem to coincide, we will nevertheless try to keep these dimensions of news stories apart for reasons to be explained later. Hence, the preliminary 'functional' categories used here are used to denote properties of semantic structures, viz. elements (categories) of propositions or relations between propositions.

As a printing convention, we will *underline* the theoretical notions (with initial Capitals), and indicate topical (macro-)propositions with 'single quotes'. Literal expressions from the text, which will be analyzed later, will be marked by "double quotes". For reasons of space, we will sometimes use abbreviations, e.g. 'G' instead of 'Gemayel'. Subheadings in the body are here printed in CAPITALS. The respective topics in the body, then, are as follows:

(3.3.) a. *Circumstances*: 'G. died when addressing 400 party members at a weekly meeting'

b. *Results*: 'Eight people died, and fifty were wounded'

c. *Actor (1)*: (i) 'G. was 34'

(ii) 'G. was to be inaugurated on Sept. 23'

d. *Reaction (1)*: 'Premier Wazzan deplored killing'

NEW FIGHTING IS FEARED

e. Actor(s)(2): 'No one claimed responsability'

f. Consequence: 'Fighting was feared

g. Actor/
Cause(s): (i) 'Election of G. on Aug. 23 boycotted by Moslems'

(ii) 'G. was considered an agent of Israel'

(iii) 'G. was commander of the Christian militia'

(iv) 'His troops enabled his election'

h. Reaction (2): 'No reaction (yet) from Israel'.

i. Consequences: 'It will be difficult to find a new president' or: 'There are various options for his succession'

400 POUNDS OF EXPLOSIVES

j. Event/Time: '4:10 PM Tuesday'

k. Event/Instrument: 'Bomb of 400 pounds'

l. Event/Circumstances: 'Unknown how bomb could be introduced into the building'

m. Event/Happenings: 'There were rumors that he had survided the explosion'

n. Event/Happenings: 'Finally he was found dead in the rubble of the building'.

o. Consequence: 'Announcement of Wazzan of death many hours after the explosion'

p. History: 'There were previous attempts to kill G.'

q. History: 'G. involved in killing of Tony Franjieh'

r. History: (i) 'G. most hated man in Lebanon'

(ii) 'His opponents were different (leftist, Moslem, palestinian) groups'

(iii) 'He also had enemies among Christian groups'

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s. Content: 'In order to compromise with Moslem opponents, he promised to loosen his ties with Israel'

t. Event/Circumstance: 'Purpose of the meeting (with party members) was to discuss opening of highway and the disarmament of private militias'.

This list of topics is more or less intuitive. That is, a precise formal account would require that each proposition of the text be taken up as input into formal macro-rules that would transform proposition sequences into topical macropropositions. This procedure, however, is much too cumbersome for our purposes, so we will simply make use of our linguistic competence to 'summarise' sequences of sentences into separate topics.

Notice first that a thematic structure, as such, is not linear, so that a 'list' as we have provided merely yields the possible topics for a thematic structure. That is, some topics are more general than others, and may subsume other topics in the list. Similarly, we might further analyse topics given here into lower-level sub-topics, such as 'People had seen him walking unharmed from the rubble of the building' as a sub-topic for topic m.: 'There were rumors that he had survived the explosion'. Also, the list does not show what the 'logical' ordering of topics may be, such as the chronological or conditional ordering of topics as determined by the ordering of facts in terms of causes and consequences. The theoretical topical categories, however, try to capture some of this information. They are so to speak categories that also define the 'situation model' which we use to understand the text and its topics. This confirms our assumption that situation models monitor news understanding.

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Against the background of these remarks, we have several possibilities to further organise the respective topics into various types of thematical structure. The first possibility is to take the overall conditional ordering of (real world) events as the major organizational principle. Thus, in Figure 3.3. we distinguish between topical information about a Main Event, preceded by a category of Immediate Causes/Conditions, and followed by Immediate Consequences. The topics about the bomb attack and the death of Gemayel would fall in the Main Event category, his election and the opposition of his enemies into a Cause/Condition category, and the (speculations about the) election of a new president or the fears for further violence would fill the Consequence category. These three main categories of the actual events, would be embedded in a Context category, featuring the topics that account for the actual political situation in Lebanon during the events (opposition between the different groups, occupation of Israel of Lebanon, the election). The category of History would resume all topics about the civil war, including also the personal history of Gemayel as a militia leader and his role in the civil war. In news stories that also feature the invasion of West-Beirut by Israel, this new Main Event could coincide with the Immediate Consequence category for the assassination event. This analysis, however, already captures some of the schematical categories (such as 'History') that define the *form* of a news item. However, it is not yet identical with such a schema, because we here use the 'normal ordering' of *events* as the organizational principle, and *not* the ordering of the topics in the *text* itself. Hence Figure 3.3. represents the global meaning structure of the news item, not the way these meanings appear in the text.

(Ad p. 77)

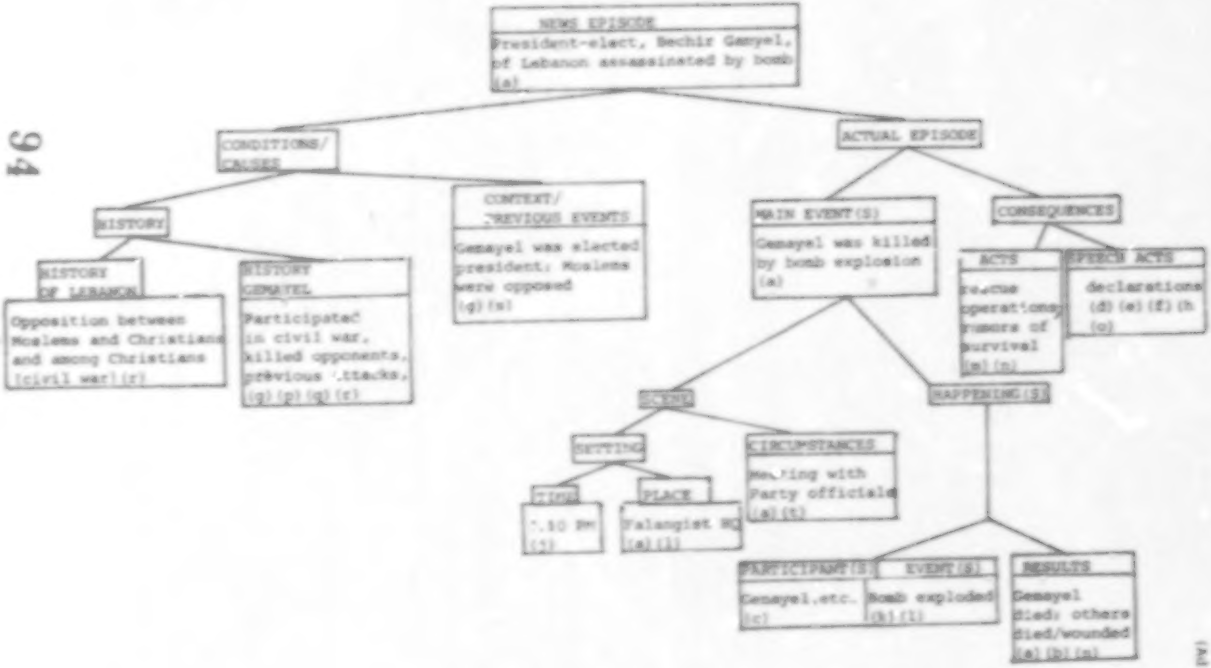
NEWS EPISODE
President-elect, Bechir Gemayel, of Lebanon assassinated by bomb (a)
CONDITIONS/ CAUSES
ACTUAL EPISODE
HISTORY
CONTEXT/ PREVIOUS EVENTS
Gemayel was elected president: Moslems were opposed (g)(s)
HISTORY OF LEBANON
Opposition between Moslems and Christians and among Christians (civil war)(r)
HISTORY GEMAYEL
Participated in civil war, killed opponents, previous attacks, (g)(p)(q)(r)
MAIN EVENT(S)
Gemayel was killed by bomb explosion (a)
CONSEQUENCES
ACTS
rescue operations; rumors of survival (m)(n)
SPEECH ACTS
declarations (d)(e)(f)(h (o)
SCENE
HAPPENING(S)
SETTING
CIRCUMSTANCES
Meeting with Party officials (a)(t)
TIME
.10 PM (i)
PLACE
Falangist HQ (a)(l)
PARTICIPANT(S)
Gemayel, etc. (c)
EVENT(S)
Bomb exploded (k)(l)
RESULTS
Gemayel died: others died/wounded (a)(b)(n)

Figure 3.1. Schema of the thematic structure of the news episode as described by the New York Times. Letters refer to themes listed in (3.3.).

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Now it is also clear why the organization of themes may be based on categories of situation models. In the first section of this chapter we have argued that the representation of events or of a situation in memory takes the form of a 'model' of that situation. Such a model features the invariant categories that define any situation as it is understood, represented and retrieved by observers, participants or language users who read or hear about such a situation. Part of the right-hand branch of Fig.11. is such a situation model. It is relatively easy to fit most topical information of the text into the categories of that situation model: Time, Place, Circumstances, Participants (Agent, Patient), and the (Main) Events themselves. Notice however that in this way we can only fit in the elements of the 'actual situation', that is the various topics regarding the assassination itself, and not the historical or contextual information, or the consequences, unless we introduce these categories as part of a situation model of a 'larger scope' ('the situation in Lebanon').

In order to build a thematic macrostructure, we must construct a macroproposition as the highest node, e.g. GEMAYEL KILLED BY BOMB, and specify at lower topical levels each of the concepts that make up this macroproposition, e.g. information about Gemayel, information about the bomb explosion, and information about the death of Gemayel proper, as we have done in Figure 3.3. Each of these nodes could be further specified at lower levels with the following types of information: (a) normal conditions, causes, etc. (b) normal components or elements, and (c) normal consequences.

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This 'normal' information for each category is supplied by our general knowledge (e.g. scripts) about bomb explosions, assassinations, presidents, political leaders, civil wars, etc. as well as by our more concrete historical and political knowledge about Lebanon. Such scriptal knowledge specifies, for instance, that assassinations of political leaders may be authored by political opponents or enemies, or that the death of a president will lead to speculations or actions towards his succession.

Despite our attempts to build a thematic schema like Fig.3.3., there is not yet a standard way to represent the thematic structure for a news item. Theoretically, we distinguish between the proper semantic structure of a text base (viz. a hierarchy of topics), and the model of the situation such a text is (partly) describing. Yet, we have seen also that the representation in Figure 3.3. in fact combines topic and model schemata. The 'internal structures' of the events in Figure 3.3. would again require specification in terms of typical model categories, such as different participants. In other words, the typical organization of a model is already reflected in the overall topical structure of a text base. The difference with a real situation model in memory, then, is that such a situation model is much more complete. It also contains information about Lebanon, assassinations, or civil wars, that is not expressed in the text itself. In other words, we use the thematic schema of Figure 3.3. as the canonical organization of the topics of this news item: schema plus topics represent the full thematic structure of the news story in the New York Times.

The respective topics fill the terminal categories of the scheme, in such a way that major topics may again subsume sub-topics at different levels. If we now read off these major topics in each category, we end up with an 'ideal' summary of the text, as it may also be expressed in the Lead of the story. The headlines again take the most important or central elements of this 'summary', viz. the information about the central events. It also is clear now how a more explicit model can be given for the usual Lead-formula: When, Where, What, Who, How?,etc. or variations thereof. Indeed, the canonical categories of the topic schema are so to speak the invariant slots into which we fill in the information of the main topics of a news text. If some slot remains empty, our knowledge and beliefs will try to fill it with information from memory, context, or with plausible inferences based on this and textual information. This is how a reader construes a situation model in memory from the information of a thematic structure.

If we now inspect this thematic structure of the news item in the New York Times more closely, we first may notice that all categories are filled. When we below will compare with other news items of other newspapers, it will become apparent that this is not always the case, which allows us to make conclusions about the canonical completeness of topical structures of news stories. Secondly, each final node may have different degrees of complexity or depth: Circumstances of an event may be described by one single topic (or even one sentence), but also by several related topics, for instance. The amount of macro-levels may be taken as the measure for this kind of topical complexity. Whereas this complexity or depth is so to speak 'vertical', each level of the macrostructural organization of a node in the schema may again be characterized, horizontally, by the amount of topics, defining the degree of completeness or richness of the (node in the) thematic structure. Thus, more component topics are used to describe the higher level topic about the death of Gemayel, than the Time, Place or Consequences of his death. Although complexity and completeness of a news story are closely related, they are certainly not the same. Thus, same length (in amount of sentences) may 'cover' a topical complexity of only 1 (one topic, no subtopics) but high degree of completeness: many --same level-- details about that topic. Or it may have several topics at several levels of specificity, but only few subtopics for each topic. The last kind of description of a situation is typical for a summarizing style and complex events, and the first for a rather detailed report about a simple event. We may also observe 'mixed' forms, where part of a story is detailed, and part of a story is more summarizing, as is also the case for the news story in the New York Times.

Next, we see in the topical structure of the NYT-item that there is little information about the precise immediate circumstances of the explosion, such as results (damages, wounded, etc.) and consequences. We will see below that other newspapers describe in more detail the 'scene of the event' itself. The New York Times pays more attention, relatively speaking, to the historical backgrounds of Gemayel and his assassination. Here, we discover one of the structural differences between first and third world items.

Finally, a few remarks are necessary about the ordering of topics in news discourse. It has already been suggested that news ordering in general, and topical ordering in particular, respect the general relevance principle: main topics are mentioned before subordinary (less important) topics. However, at the same time we discovered that the actualization of topics in the text may be discontinuous: a topic is expressed 'in installments'. Now, if we consider the topical ordering in the New York Times, we first see that the Headlines and the Lead express various topics that directly relate to the main event: the assassination, the bomb explosion, victims, possible actors, and so on. The body of the text itself also starts with topics relating to the main event: circumstances (meeting), results, the victims and reactions. We then find a sequence of (fragmented) topics dealing with the consequences of the main event: fear of fighting, new elections or succession, etc. Third, details about the main event are specified. Fourth, the further background or historical topics are mentioned: civil war, history of Gemayel, political fights, etc. And finally, a brief paragraph resumes the circumstances of the assassination, viz. the meeting between Gemayel and Falange-representatives. In other words, topic ordering in this item respects the general relevance principle (main event topics first and details and background later). We thus have a series of topics organized by the following categories, roughly in linear order: MAIN EVENT (Headlines, Lead, and beginning of text), CONSEQUENCES, MAIN EVENT (cont.), BACKGROUNDS (HISTORY, CONTEXT).

2.2. *Granma*

About the other papers we may now be much more succinct after the rather extensive and theoretically oriented analysis of the topical structures of the *New York Times*. The *headline* in *Granma* is as follows (translated from the Spanish, but very literal):

(3.4.) DEAD IN DYNAMITE ATTACK
PRESIDENT-ELECT OF LEBANON
AND FALANGIST LEADER, BECHIR GEMAYEL

And the *Lead* contains the following topics:

(3.5.) a. 'G. died as a consequence of the explosion of a bomb'

b. 'G. was chief of the military forces of the Kataeb (falangist) party'

c. 'The bomb partially destroyed the headquarters of this right-wing organization'

Whereas the main topic, viz. the death of Gemayel due to a bomb explosion is identical with that of the *New York Times*, the Headline and Lead of *Granma* also show differences: (i) Gemayel is not only idenitified as president-elect, but also as a falargist militia leader, (ii) instead of mentioning (other) victims, Granma mentions the destruction of the HQ building. The falangist background of Gemayel also occurs in the *New York Times*, but at a lower level, as part of the historical background section. For *Granma*, apparently, the falangist and the right-wing identity of Gemayel is more prominent. Since for a communist paper like *Granma* such an identification may be crucial (after all, falangists may be considered to be located at the other extreme end of the political spectrum), this difference between the papers may not be accidental.

This is a possibly systematic cue that may define interesting differences in the reporting of this event: (i) specific identification of news actors, viz. as members of politically opposed groups, and (ii) different hierarchical position of such a topical identification in the news item (e.g. in Headline or Lead, rather than later in a background section). We may therefore, as a provisional heuristic, take this cue to investigate possible differences between the papers.

The topics as expressed in the text of Granma's report are the following:

(3.6.) a. 'Others were killed and wounded'
- b. 'G's body was drawn from rubble, six hours after explosion'
- c. 'Bomb contained 200 kilos of TNT (said EFE)'
- d. (i) 'G. was Christian maronite'
  - (ii) 'G would be president on Sept. 23'
  - (iii) 'G was 34 years old'
  - (iv) 'He was son of Pierre G.'
- e. 'G. was chief of falangist forces during civil war'
- f. 'He had many enemies, also among Christian parties'
- g. (i) 'He was involved in killing of Tony Franjieh'
  - (ii) 'He was involved in killing of 500 followers of Chamoun'
- h. 'He was considered an ally of Israel'
- i. 'His election was made possible by "Zionist" invasion'
- j. 'G. has contacts with Israel'
- k. 'Israel and USA welcomed G's election, and hoped for a peace treaty between Israel and Lebanon'.

Granma has less topics than the *New York Times* and seems to follow the information from the international news agencies (of which EFE is mentioned explicitly in the text). Some notable topics not elaborated in *Granma* are, among others, the following: the circumstances of the explosion, speculations about the possible actors of the assassination, rumors about G.'s survival, and the earlier attacks on his life. Maybe the last omission is most significant, when we compare with similar information about the killings he has been involved in during the civil war. Again, this might suggest us a cue for a possibly ideological selection of news items: Gemayel is rather portrayed as the militant and murderous leader of a falangist militia than as a victim of attacks by his opponents. About half of the topics in Granma could be categorized as involving rather negative information about Gemayel, at least from an arab, moslem or communist point of view (falangist, had many enemies, killed others, ally of Israel, etc.). However, this conclusion is only based on quantitative and structural grounds: prominence in the Headline and relative proportion of the negative portrayal themes. Other newspapers often do not lack such themes, but seem to give them less prominence, or compensate for them with more neutral or even positive information about Gemayel. Thus, *Granma* does not mention that even by his opponents G. was hoped to re-establish the unity of Lebanon, or that G. had promised to loosen his ties with Israel.

The ordering and categorical structure for the topics in Granma is, roughly, as follows: MAIN EVENT (Headline and Lead), MAIN EVENT (further details), HISTORY and CONTEXT. Of the main event, the immediate Results are specified (wounded, dead), but not the Consequences, such as the succession of Gemayel, or the political consequences of his death. In comparison, then, there is much more information about the political background of Gemayel than about the details (circumstances, actors involved, results, consequences) of the explosion itself. Also, all Comment topics are missing, such as reactions from inside and outside of Lebanon. The use of the word "sionista" will be discussed later in the chapter about the style of the news. However, since it implies a negative stance towards Israel, and since one topic explicitly mentions Gemayel's friendship with Israel, we may safely conclude that the negative portrayal of Gemayel we have already noticed above is in agreement with this political evaluation of the situation in the Middle-East and in Lebanon. Never this evaluation is made in an explicit way, though. It can only be tentatively inferred from the structural, quantitative and stylistic features we have been analyzing. Obviously, more evidence is necessary to make such inferences stick in a more reliable sense. But, what is relevant for our discussion is to trace the even subtle cues that might express differences in (political, ideological) attitudes underlying the even seemingly neutral description of an international event. One of these cues, viz. the portrayal or person description of the major actor (Gemayel), will be discussed in somewhat more detail later.

2.3. Excelsior

To avoid repetition, we will for the other newspapers merely summarize at what points of the thematical structure they seem to deviate from the pattern we have found above: what topics are particularly important, which ones are not discussed, and what ordering features can be detected in the expression of the topics. The report in Mexico's Excelsior has somewhat more topics than Granma. The Headline rather exceptionally mentions the topic 'His ties with Israel made him impopular', which in other reports has a lower, background, hierarchical position in the topical structure. In this way, the paper may signal an overall cause or explanation for the assassination in a prominent position, where other newspapers reserve such information for the historical background or context sections. The Main Event section, which here too comes first, does mention the initial rumors about Gemayel's survival. In the subsequent section with historical information, the previous attempts at his life are mentioned (which was not done in Granma). The context section provides information about the actual political stance of Gemayel, such as his opposition to the presence of Palestinians (but also against other foreign troups) in Lebanon, and his links with Israel. Comments are mentioned, notably the declaration by Sarkis, but also a 'local comments' section, viz. the reaction of young Lebanese Arabs in Mexico, which mentions the consequences of the assassination for the Arab world. No possible consequences for the succession of Gemayel are mentioned, as does the New York Times.

2.4. El Universal

The reporting in El Universal (Venezuela) is somewhat peculiar in the sense that several reports are combined that come from different sources, and which give different phases or dimensions of the events. In this way, there is not only much overlap, much also some apparent contradiction: the different wire reports have not been integrated into one coherent news discourse. Hence, it is not possible to provide one unified topical structure for one single news item in this case.

The Headline is similar to the one of the previous newspapers (President-elect of Lebanon died in Bomb attack), although here the headline features the evaluative adjective "terrorist", which is not usual for most newspapers we have studied. A series of subheadlines mention the major topics (on page 1, the rest of the article figures on an inside page): explosion of a powerful bomb in the HQ of G's party, the fact that he should take office on September 23, and that there were more than 50 victims. On the inside page a further headline mentions the rumor of his survival. After the Lead, which summarizes the main topical event, the text starts with a Comments section, viz. with the declarations of Wazzan and Sarkis, after which the main event is spelled out. More than in the other Latin-American papers just mentioned, El Universal provides topics from a Context section: G's promises during his electoral campaign, the boycot of the elections by his Moslem opponents, the fear of his opponents and the assurance of his assistants that there would be no vengeance. This Context section is then followed by a Historical section, as in the previous papers. Circumstances of the bomb attack, viz. his meeting with his party officials, are however mentioned here (as in The New York Times), and not in Granma and Excelsior.

A second report (taken from AFP) repeats some of the main event topics, but adds information about the burial, condolences by Sarkis to the Gemayel family, and especially some information about the consequences of the assassination, such as feelings of uncertainty and confusion in Lebanon. A third report (also from AFP) specifies further Reactions, such as those from Israel, whereas a fourth report (AFP) specifies some immediate consequences, such as the prohibition issue to falangist members to carry arms. The last report (also AFP) is about Wazzan's declaration.

In other words, El Universal, through its compounded reports, is relatively complete in its coverage, and expresses most major topics of the story. Compared to the other Latin-American papers analyzed above, it provides (more) information about the actual political context (e.g. the election of Gemayel), about some of the Reactions or Comments about the event, as well as some further consequences, such as the situation in Lebanon after the assassination. The ordering of the topics in the main report is roughly comparable to that in the other papers: Main Event, Context and Historical Backgrounds. The other reports predominantly specify various Consequence topics. The historical section mentions both Gemayel's involvement in the killings of others, as well as the attacks on his own life.

2.5. El Pais

Moving from the Americas to Europe, El Pais (Spain) provides one of the most extensive coverages of the assassination of Gemayel, featuring main reports, but also several background features about Gemayel and the situation in Lebanon. The Headline is topically comparable to those studied above (death of G. through bomb attack), but is stylistically interesting:

(3.7.) Two hundred kilos of dynamite put an end to the life of Bechir Gemayel.

This means that a relative detail, viz. the power of the bomb, is put in evidence at the most prominent position of the main article. Although this may seem exceptional, it should be added that this apparent detail figures in nearly all news items about the assassination. Although the precise weight of the bomb may signal the seriousness of the attack, such a specification should also be interpreted as a rhetorical device in news reporting: numbers (whatever their precision) are signals of truthfulness or exactness of the news report, and therefore may enhance credibility (see Chapter 6.4.).

The Lead topics stress, unlike the papers analyzed thus far, the political implications of the assassination: 'Future politics of this key-country in the Middle-East', 'Uncertainty in Lebanon', and 'G. was considered a crucial figure in order to reach a negotiated solution to the problems of the region'. In other words, apart from topicalizing the main events, El Pais puts the political significance of the events into focus. Immediately after a first Main Event section in the body of the news item, such an Expectation or

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Evaluation section comes back again: who will be president, will there be repraisals against his opponents, and speculations about 'whodunnit'. This section is then followed by several Reaction topics, such as the reactions (and expectations) of Israel and the USA. The historical background information in the main news item is brief, and merely identifies Gemayel as the chief of the falangist militia, but details about the life of Gemayel are given in a separate background feature , under the significant headline A SHORT LIFE MARKED BY VIOLENCE. Also, a separate article specifies the reactions, and their explanations, of two of the most concerned countries: Israel and the USA. The main article merely specifies the actual context of the assassination, viz. the elections, the opposition of the Moslem groups, and the increasing confidence in Gemayel during the past few weeks.

Concluding, we may evaluate the topical structure of El Pais primarily in terms of the special attention paid to the political context and consequences of the events. Background and Reactions are detailed in separate articles. Comparatively less information is given about the precise details of the bomb attack, although the size of the bomb rather prominently appears in the Headline. Also the consequences of the explosion for the people in Beirut are mentioned , viz. prominently in the Lead.

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2.6. *Svenska Dagbladet*

From northern Europe we have selected the Swedish daily *Svenska Dagbladet* which, compared to other quality newspapers, brings a very brief story on September 15. In this respect it is rather similar to a number of 'popular' newspapers in Western-Europe, such as the British popular press or *Bild-Zeitung* in Western Germany.

The Headline mentions the death of Gemayel, but not the fact that he died of a violent death (attack or bomb explosion) as most other newspapers do. In this respect the Headline, therefore, could be qualified as incomplete -- the death of a president being quite a different event from his assassination, although the consequences may be identical. The Lead however repairs this omission and mentions the attack at Gemayel party HQ's.

The text itself mentions the sources for the information and the declarations of Wazzan and Sarkis, but is further limited to a brief summary of the main events. Gemayel is simply identified as the leader of the ("rightwing") christian militia, and the only contextual information is that he was elected president on August 23. Hence, this news item does not give history or details about the context, no further (international) reactions, and no evaluative comments or expectations about the political situation and the political consequences of the assassination.

If we merely take this article of September 15 (there is a background article about Gemayel on September 16 --just as in other newspapers), we may conclude that this newspaper exhibits the well-known 'spot' or 'kernel' coverage of major international events, i.e. description of main events 'as such', without backgrounds or context.

2.7. Renmin Ribao

From East Asia we could not analyze a news item that did not also mention the invasion of West-Beirut by Israel, due to the time lag. China's large party newspaper, Renmin Ribao, provides a middle-sized report of the events, headed by the major topics of the combined stories: PRESIDENT-ELECT OF LEBANON DEAD IN EXPLOSION, and ISRAEL MARCHES INTO WEST-BEIRUT.

The rest of the article starts with the source of the official information, viz. Wazzan's declaration, and then specifies the topics of the main event (bomb explosion, location, time, size of bomb, circumstances --reunion with party-- victims) and the ensuing official declaration. Briefly, Gemayel is portrayed, viz. as militia leader, and son of Pierre G. However, there is very little further historical background about the life of Gemayel, or about his role in the civil war. Yet, briefly, some context is specified about the Israeli invasion (previous invasion of June into Lebanon), and about the election of Gemayel. Renmin Ribao somewhat more explicitly than other papers writes that Gemayel's assassination was expected , given his earlier contacts with Israel, and the Moslem opposition to his election A final evaluative Comment, viz. about the resulting instability in Lebanon, closes this news item.

Just like Svenska Dagbladet, Renmin Ribao brings the essential topics of the story, but adds at least some minimal context for interpretation, without historical backgrounds , however.

2.8. Indonesian Times

South-East Asia has a number of (sometimes English) newspapers that bring extensive reports about international events. The Indonesian quality press is no exception. The Indonesian Times brings a relatively long story about both the invasion of West-Beirut and the assassination of Gemayel. The headline though mentions the last event first, as usual, and the first event last, thereby implicitly suggesting a causal relation, even when neutral temporal connectors such as "following" are used.

The Lead summarizes the main events, identifying Gemayel as 'conservative christian militia chief', and placing his assassination in the context of the fact that he should take office nine days later.

The body of the news item does not open with topics about the main event, as the other papers did, but rather with political comment and evaluation topics: political or personal vengeance and a move to keep Lebanon from a strong central government. These topics may be interpreted as implicit explanations of the event. And even before the further topics describing the assassination, the paper specifies the reactions in Washington (fear of bloodbath). The Main Event is described as usual, followed by the announcement of Wazzan, and a brief report about the rumors about the survival of Gemayel. This means that in this text no topics are discussed that belong to the Context or Historical Background (the rest of the item is about the Israeli invasion, which we will not analyze here). Yet, at the end of the article, some context information (opposition to

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his election by Moslem groups) is mentioned as part of the discussion who could be G's successor. A separate article, by a correspondent , covers some historical background, but embedded in the reactions of a member of parliament, who explains why Gemayel might have been killed (his actions in the civil war, but mainly his relations with Israel).

The Indonesian Times, thus, also expresses the central topics of the story, but has relatively little context and historical background, gives few details about the main events, but discusses the succession issue. After the opening lead sentence, it first gives an explanatory comment about the death of Gemayel and only then some details about the bomb explosion and his death. Some of the historical background appears in the declarations of a politician commenting on the event. This is of course a safe and expedient news strategy, because it guards the editors from establishing links between the political background (or details about G's life) and the actual killing,whileat the same time taking the opportunity to report domestic reactions in Indonesia itself about the events in Lebanon.

2.9. Conclusions

From our qualitative analysis of eight news items we may draw the following conclusions regarding the topical structures of the stories about the assassination of Gemayel:

(a) Whatever the length, the topical complexity or the completeness of the stories, they all feature the so-called 'main event' topics, such as the bomb explosion, the death of Gemayel, other victims, and so on.

(b) Topical differences can be detected especially in the presences or absence of context or history topics, or information about the political consequences of the assassination. Only two newspapers (Svenska Dagbladet and Renmin Ribao) do not provide much history about Gemayel as a person and political leader during the civil war. Granma selects only the 'negative' topics from the personal history of Gemayel. No political consequences are given in Granma, Excelsior, Svenska Dagbladet. That is, most papers specify enough background to make the assassination intelligible, viz. as a possible outcome of the strong political opposition against Gemayel as a person, as falangist militia leader and as president-elect.

(c) The major topic(s) are expressed and signalled in the headline(s) and/or the Lead. Yet, there may be differences in emphasis accorded to some of the topics in this 'summary' part of the news items, also depending on the length and complexity of headlines and leads. For instance, Excelsior puts impopularity-because-of-his-links-with-Israel in the headline, whereas El Pais focuses on the political consequences of the assassination.

(d) Although topics may be realized in the text in a discontinuous way (the 'installment' structure of news items), a rough principle of topical ordering may be detected under much individual variation. Main event topics generally come first, although sometimes comments or consequences may also open the story after the headline or lead. Then, historical and contextual topics are expressed, mostly followed by further details about the main event. Finally, comments, consequences and reactions will generally close the news item. Some topics, such as the historical ones, may be dealt with in separate background articles.(as does El Pais).

(e) The overall topical structure (macrostructure) of the news items is, as may be expected, dominated by the thematic proposition 'President-elect Bechir Gemayel of Lebanon was killed by the explosion of a powerful bomb in his falangist party headquarters in Beirut'. This macroproposition resumes the 'what, who, when, where, and how' information of the main event. Besides the topics dealing with the bomb explosion and the death of Gemayel, there are two main clusters of other topics, viz. those about the falangist background of Gemayel in the civil war (such as his involvement, active or passive, in violence), and those about the immediate context of the assassination, viz. his election as president and the opposition of various groups. In fact, this historical and directly political background seems to be the most complete and complex of the topical structure, at least in most newspapers. The treatment of precise circumstances and consequences of the assassination is more variable across newspapers, as is the Reaction section.

3. Quantitative thematic analyses

3.1. Frequencies and distribution of main themes

After our qualitative analyses of thematic structures of news discourse about the assassination of Gemayel, let us examine some quantitative data. In Table 11. we have indicated the frequencies of the various themes and their distribution in first and third world newspapers. Of the major A-themes (those about the assassination of Gemayel), we find that the bomb attack, the death of Gemayel and the political consequences have been scored most often, as may be expected. Only a few news articles mention the meeting with the Falange as a separate theme (note that a theme implies more than just mentioning, and for practical reasons we require a theme to occupy at least three lines of text). Then we have a number of themes that are treated by a large number (more than 100) articles, such as the rumor about Gemayel's survival, the immediate consequences of the bomb attack, the political context, and so on. Many news articles give at least some of the history of Gemayel, but only 70 mention the previous attacks on the life of Gemayel as a separate topic. It is striking to see that top scorer in the list of themes are the international reactions to the death of Gemayel (mentioned as a theme by 261 articles). This suggests that there are a considerable number of separate articles that do not treat the death of Gemayel as a theme, but merely the reactions in the world, which is indeed the case. Several newspapers in several countries, for instance, will pay special attention to the declarations of their own politicians (mostly the head of state) to the events in Lebanon.

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Table 3.1. Frequencies of themes in first and third world newspaper articles (rounded percentages between parentheses). Based on 758 articles.

	First world	Third World	Total
A1. Meeting with Falange	14 (48%)	15 (52%)	29
A2. Bomb attack	119 (56%)	93 (44%)	212
A3. Survival rumors	61 (54%)	51 (46%)	112
A4. Gemayel (found) dead	120 (49%)	125 (51%)	245
A5. Immediate consequences	57 (49%)	59 (51%)	116
A6. General polit. cons.	138 (58%)	99 (42%)	237
A7. Political situation	86 (65%)	46 (35%)	132
A8. Military situation Leb.	65 (63%)	39 (37%)	104
A9. Personal history G.	86 (51%)	82 (49%)	168
A10. Earlier attacks on G.	38 (54%)	32 (46%)	70
A11. Election	83 (54%)	71 (46%)	154
A12. Civil war Lebanon	39 (75%)	13 (25%)	52
A13. Funeral	52 (49%)	55 (51%)	107
A14. Declarations & Reactions	118 (45%)	143 (55%)	261
Total	1076 (54%)	923 (46%)	1999
Mean	76,9	65,9	142,7

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If we take treatment by 150 articles as our lower bound, we may conclude that the story about the assassination of Gemayel which reaches most readers will consist of the following themes:

(a) A bomb attack was made against Gemayel of Lebanon

(b) Gemayel died

(c) This event will have consequences for the political situation in Lebanon and the Middle-East (and for Israel or the USA)

(d) Personal history of Gemayel

(e) His election was controversial

(f) International reactions.

If we compare these frequencies for first and third world news articles, we find surprising parallelism: those themes that are (in-)frequent in first world articles are also (in-)frequent in third world news. Yet, there also some differences (recall that the total number of articles --also about the Israeli invasion-- in the first and third world papers is about equal, viz. 363 and 36[illegible] respectively, so the distribution chances are also equal). First world newspapers have more attention for the following topics: the bomb attack itself, the political consequences, the political context (involving also Israel and the USA), the military situation in Lebanon, history of the civil war. In other words, they have more thematic background information. This difference may be explained by the fact that generally speaking first world newspapers may have access to better documentation facilities, have more correspondents in Lebanon, and/or more editorial staff to research and write about these backgrounds.

Since especially background information seems to differentiate first and third world newspapers, let us have a closer look at the background themes in the respective world regions. In most regions of the world, both first and third world, theme A6, namely the political consequences of the assassination, is most frequent (37,5% in first world countries and 25,7% in third world countries). There are two exceptions: the newspapers in Australia/New Zealand, and those of South Asia both have theme A11 (the election) as the most frequent theme (about 30% of their articles have this theme, whereas on the whole newspapers have it in only about 20% of their articles). Apparently, the history of the civil war, as a background theme, does not appear very often in the news: both in first and in third world countries or regions it appears with lowest frequency, especially in third world countries (3,6% -- in first world countries: 10,7%). It may be expected, next, that first world newspapers also will tend to have more interest for the negotiation theme, in which after all Israel and the USA are directly involved: we find it especially in American, Japanese, and Western European newspapers, but hardly in Eastern European news and not at all in the South-Asian press. Of the third world newspapers, we find this topic most often in the Central American press (close in many respects to the concerns of the USA: they have much news about their powerful neighbor in general). The funeral topic is the only one that occurs equally often in first and third world papers (about 14%). Eastern Europe scores very low on all topics, and in fact only discusses the political consequence and the election topics. The only topic that occurs clearly more often in third world articles are the international reactions. Note that the generally lower figures for third world countries can in part also be explained by the thematicity criteria: an event or an aspect of an event may occur or be briefly mentioned, but it is only a theme when a long sentence, several sentences or a whole paragraph are dedicated to them. This means that short articles will in general exhibit few(er) themes, and since the average third world article is about 10% shorter than the average first world article, this may account for at least some of the differences in theme frequencies observed.

Although we do not pay attention here to the invasion topics, the pattern is rather similar for those themes. The majority of articles (299) have the invasion itself as a theme (even more than the death of Gemayel), of which 167 in first world articles and 132 in third world articles. And in those articles as well it is again the international reaction that scores very high (274 cases, about equally distributed in first and third world articles).

Theme frequencies only tell us how often a specific theme has occurred, that is, how many articles feature a specific theme. Of course, there are also possible differences of size or length of the specific themes. Some themes are treated in only a few lines, others take long paragraphs. Overall, themes are developed within a range of 6 to 20 lines. This holds for themes such as the bomb-explosion, the death of Gemayel, and the circumstances of the assassination. The theme about the rumor of Gemayel's survival, however, usually gets only a few lines (seldom more than 20). On the

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other hand, other themes will on average require more space: political consequences of the assassination, the military situation in Lebanon, the personal history of Gemayel, the election of Gemayel and especially the international reactions. For instance, 123 articles (out of 263 that have that theme), have more than 20 lines about the international reactions to the assassination.

Again, the size distributions are rather parallel in first and third world countries: what gets less space in the first also tends to get less space in the latter. Yet, comparatively, third world newspapers use more space to deal with the death of Gemayel, his burial and the international reaction (that is, these themes tend to be treated at least in 6 lines or more). The western newspapers generally pay some more attention to each theme (measured by size of theme in numbers of lines), but this is especially the case for the so-called background themes: military situation, political consequences in Lebanon and the Middle-East, and history of the civil war. We have found that pattern also in the frequencies of theme occurrence, and we may therefore conclude provisionally that indeed the western newspapers we have analyzed tend to have more (and more often) attention for background information. We have explained this difference by pointing out that western news media have more facilities and access to such background information and analysis. We may assume, for instance, that part of the difference is based on separate background or feature articles in the western press. Indeed, as we have seen for the New York Times, for instance, separate articles are dedicated to the consequences of the assassination of Gemayel for the negotiations in which also the USA plays an important role.

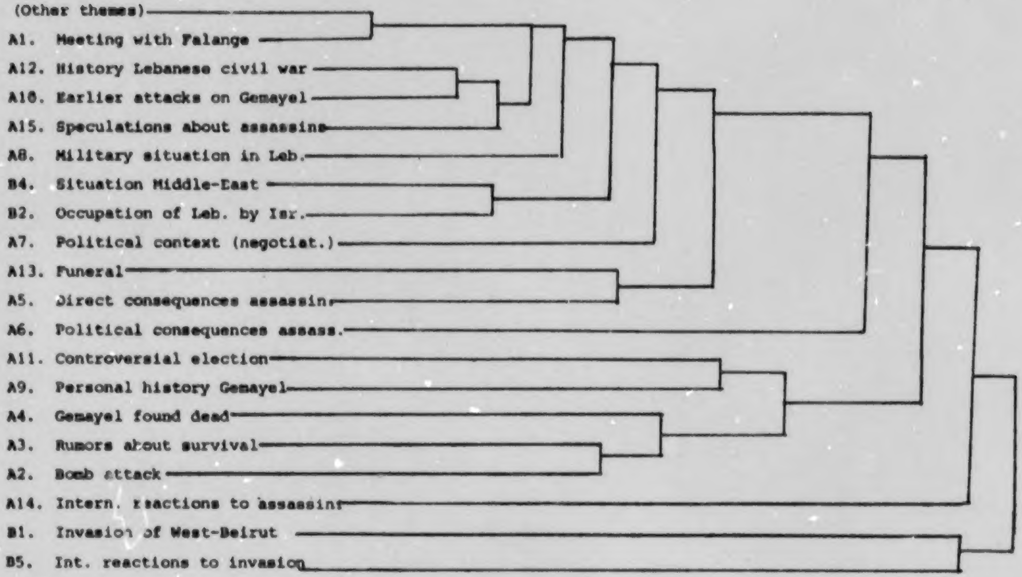
Finally, the prominence of a theme may depend on its location in the news article: it may be treated (already/partly) in the headline and/or lead or/and only in the rest of the text. In general, themes that are treated in headline, lead and text can be considered relatively important, according to the basic principles of relevance distribution in news discourse. The themes that tend to appear in the headlines are: the bomb attack, the death of Gemayel (most frequently, as may be expected), the political consequences, (parts of the) personal history of Gemayel, his burial, and the international reactions. Themes like the military or political situation or backgrounds, the election or the civil war seldom appear in either headline(s) or lead (recall that many newspapers do not have a separate lead, so for this analysis appearance in the headline is of prime importance). Differences between third and first world newspapers as to place / prominence for each theme are not very marked, and in line with the observations made above: more interest for a theme will also enhance its chance of appearing in the headlines. Thus, first world newspapers more often have the bomb attack in their headlines, and the third world newspapers more often the death of Gemayel. Also, third world newspapers more often have the immediate consequences of the assassination, the burial and the international reactions as headlines. These findings more or less confirm what we have found above, and would require more detailed qualitative analysis for further conclusions.

3.2. Thematic clustering and correlation

As may be expected, certain themes tend to occur often with certain other themes, whereas other themes do not tend to co-occur. Although such co-occurrence of themes have been especially investigated from a qualitative, semantic, point of view, we may try to find a pattern also in data obtained from a quantitative analysis of clusters and correlations.

A cluster analysis nicely renders the overall thematic structure of the news about the events in Lebanon. Obviously, we first find two main clusters, viz. the assassination and the invasion, respectively, at the highest level. At a lower level, however, some of the themes that belong to these two main events are also clustering, viz. those of the political situation in Lebanon and the Middle East. Apparently, these typical 'consequence' themes may be treated together for the two different main themes. Also set apart is the theme of the international reactions, which on its own relates with the assassination themes, and can also be seen as a general consequence of the assassination. The bomb attack theme and the rumor about Gemayel's survival also appear to cluster, as is apparent in those stories that do not yet have the news of his death, although in most cases of course the bomb attack, the rumor and his death will, at a higher level, again cluster together. Next, the personal history of Gemayel and his controversial election also tend to co-occur. And finally, on the other end of the cluster tree we find the various themes that deal with the political consequences, the situation or the context of the events, as well as the civil war and the previous attacks on his life(See Figure 3.4 .).

(ad p. 104)


(Other themes)
A1. Meeting with Falange
A12. History Lebanese civil war
A10. Earlier attacks on Gemayel
A15. Speculations about assassins
A8. Military situation in Leb.
B4. Situation Middle-East
B2. Occupation of Leb. by Isr.
A7. Political context (negotiat.)
A13. Funeral
A5. Direct consequences assassin.
A6. Political consequences assass.
A11. Controversial election
A9. Personal history Gemayel
A4. Gemayel found dead
A3. Rumors about survival
A2. Bomb attack
A14. Intern. reactions to assassin.
B1. Invasion of West-Beirut
B5. Int. reactions to invasion

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Although the clustering pattern thus discovered may have plausibility in terms of thematic 'logic', it is obvious that variations are possible for different countries or regions. Hence,we made separate cluster analyses for first and third world newspapers, for instance, and found that the invasion story is rather separate from the assassination story in both clusters. And in both clusters we find bomb attack and the death of Gemayel closely linked, as may be expected. But there are also differences. Thus, in the first world press, the political consequences topic relates at a higher level with the assassination topics than in the third world press. Similarly, the assassination topic in third world newspapers relates more directly to the history of Gemayel than in the first world press, where the assassination is rather linked up with international reactions. The other themes appear to be somewhat more fragmented in third world papers (e.g. details of the bomb attack and previous attacks go together, and those topics again cluster with the election theme). In the first world papers, on the contrary, the election and personal history of Gemayel tend to appear together as well as the earlier attacks on Gemayel and the history of the civil war. Also, the political situation in Lebanon and the political consequences of the assassination are more central in the thematic cluster of first world newspapers, whereas details of the attack have lower cluster values than in third world news articles.

It is not easy to give a clear interpretation of such differences. It seems however that in third world articles there is a general tendency to focus on the assassination topics themselves, whereas in the first world press, background information seems more central and less fragmented.

A correlation matrix specifies in more detail the magnitude of the co-occurrences of various themes. Overall, the correlations are positive for the 14 assassination themes, and --as may be expected-- significant (mostly at the .001 level). Highest correlations were found for the occurrence of the bomb attack, the rumor of survival and the death themes (about .5 and .4 , respectively). Similarly, personal history and previous attacks on Gemayel's life correlate significantly (.32), and the same holds for the presidential election theme, which also tends to relate with the bomb attack and his death. Civil war and the personal history of Gemayel are expectedly correlated (.21), and so are bomb attack and burial. Most of these correlations can be easily explained in semantic terms: historical information is put together, events and their consequences, and events and their context. In general, correlations for the contextual topics, though, are lower than those of the assassination itself. Sometimes, unexpected and unexplained correlations may be found, e.g. between the theme of the meeting and location of the bomb attack, on the one hand, and previous attacks, on the other hand. That Gemayel's election is often mentioned together with the theme of the bomb attack and his death suggests that the news tends to view these events as being (causally) related. Given the predominantly negative correlations of A-themes and B-themes, we may conclude that in most news articles these themes indeed are treated independently.
In general, then, the highest intercorrelations exist between the central themes of the assassination story: election, bomb attack,

death. Then, we find somewhat lower correlations for the personal history and previous attack themes, and finally still lower correlations for the various context and background themes. Not only are these in general less frequent, but also they need not occur together (or have been scored as one theme).

Our additional analysis of thematic clustering and correlation suggests first that the assassination and the invasion stories are brought more or less independently. Second, for the assassination as a whole, we may distinguish between the events themselves and the international reactions to them. Third, the assassination story seems to have a thematic kernel, consisting of presidential election, bomb attack, survival rumor and death. Then, around this kernel we find historical and personal background, indeed a vita of the victim. And finally, we have a set of broader political topics, viz. those of the political situation and the consequences of the assassination for Lebanon and the Middle East. Since the correlations between history and context/consequences and the assassination itself are not very high (though still mostly significant), we may also conclude that such history, context and in general 'background' themes tend to be treated in separate articles, as indeed often is the case. The same holds for the assassination and the invasion themes. Indeed, 129 of 729 articles only are about the invasion. Yet, the invasion themes are not quite independent: 600 articles at least have one A-theme. And since nearly 300 articles are also about the invasion, we must conclude that most invasion topics nevertheless come together with at least one assassination topic: indeed, the invasion is usually described as a consequence of the assassination.

Finally, we have also examined the distribution of what we called the story kernel , viz. the combination of those themes that seem essential for an intelligible account of the assassination: bomb attack, Gemayel injured and/or dead (depending on the dateline of the newspaper), Gemayel's personal history and his controversial election. Although these themes separately occur rather frequently, it was found that as a coherent whole they have much lower frequencies. Thus, 100 articles mention the bomb explosion and (the rumors about his) survival, 133 the combination of bomb attack and Gemayel's death, 67 have the three themes combined, and only 41 articles appear to have all five topics. This means that, relatively speaking, only a small number of articles carry the full kernel story. This is probably due to the fact that(e.g.because of time differences), the story is distributed over several days and over different articles, including background articles. There is no difference between first and third world newspapers in this respect. On the contrary, the frequencies of the different kernels are practically identical. As may be expected, the kernels appear mostly in proper news articles, and seldom in background or editorial articles. This suggests that the latter presuppose the events to be known and only analyze a few single topics, such as backgrounds. Further analysis of the appearance of themes and theme clusters in different article types reveals that in general most thematic clusters (A-kernels, A-backgrounds) appear in news stories, but that especially the background topics are relatively more frequent in background and editorial articles, as may be expected. Comparing worldson this thematic distribution over article type, however, we

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found that especially first world newspapers tend to bring background topics in (separate) background articles. This also suggests that such backgrounds can get more focused and more substantial attention in the first world papers. We will find later that this is partly explained by the fact that western newspapers have more correspondents and more editorial articles than third world newspapers. The latter must nearly completely rely on agency news, in which story and backgrounds are usually integrated.

3.3. Actors

Theoretically, themes are defined as macropropositions that are derived from (local) micropropositions in the news text. Such macropropositions are basically composed of a predicate, denoting an event, an action or some state of affairs, on the one hand, and an ordered sequence of arguments, denoting the participants , on the other hand. Such participants are, by definition, actors of the major acts of an event if people, institutions or countries are involved. An important aspect of a thematic analysis, therefore, is the identification and description of the actors denoted by the news discourse: about whom does a news article write (and who is not mentioned who could be mentioned in such a context)?

Therefore,we have recorded the so-called main actors, i.e. actors who are participants in themes, as defined above, ignoring those actors who are merely mentioned once. We also recorded whether or not these actors were (also) mentioned in the headlines and/or in the lead --which would enhance or signal their importance, and have compared the results for first and third world newspapers.

As may be expected, Gemayel is the actor who is appearing most frequently as a main or thematic actor in the total amount of articles: 474 times (see Table 3.2.), more or less equally for both first and third world newspapers (with the usual 10% difference we have noted before for many of our descriptive measures). At a distance, we find such actors as the Lebanese politicians, Moslem groups, the PLO, the Israeli army and Israel (mainly in the invasion story), Arafat, Reagan, the USA, the Falange, Draper, etc. , each in more

Table 12. Frequencies of main actors in first and third world articles (number of headline occurrences in parentheses).

ACTORS	First world	Third World	Total
Gemayel	248(126)	226(111)	474(237)
Other victims	60(4)	50(4)	110(8)
Palangists	103(2)	92(2)	195(4)
Lebanese polit.	163(13)	155(11)	318(24)
Moslem groups	132(8)	117(6)	249(14)
PLO	109(4)	86(4)	195(8)
Family Gemayel	76(7)	60(9)	136(16)
Israel	176(41)	126(16)	302(57)
Israeli army	173(64)	142(43)	315(107)
Israeli governm.	146(19)	113(19)	259(38)
Arab leaders	44(5)	29(5)	73(10)
Mid-East countries	61(2)	33(6)	94(8)
Arafat	75(9)	57(16)	132(25)
Reagan	85(14)	59(7)	144(21)
Draper	78(0)	35(0)	113(0)
USSR	35(4)	20(4)	55(8)
USA	132(29)	71(13)	203(42)
TOTAL	1869(351)	1471(276)	3340(627)
MEAN	110(21)	86(16)	196(37)

than hundred articles. These include roles in various kinds of political and military actions, but also as speakers in reactions or declarations. In fact, we saw that international declarations subsume a significant part of the thematic material of news articles, and indeed, most actors of the list only figure as people who have made declarations about the assassination or the invasion.

If we take a 10% difference as a 'normal' difference, given the difference in the amount of coverage in the first and the third world, we may conclude that certain frequency distributions nevertheless are more marked. In general, for example, the western press will more often mention Israel, the Israeli army or government, as one of its main actors, i.e. about 20% more often than third world news articles. And although the overall frequencies are lower, the same holds for the thematic occurrence of Arab Leaders, the Middle-East in general, Arafat and Reagan. In other words, the earlier finding that first world newspapers have more background news finds confirmation here in higher frequencies of typical background actors. In this same perspective, then, it is not surprising that for instance the USA is much more often actor in western than in third world news. Third world news has somewhat more often topics in which the United Nations is involved, as well as third world leaders of course. France and the Pope get an equal share in both first and third world papers.

The general conclusion from this brief analysis is that, overall, the first world press features more thematic actors, and especially actors that are part of background information, mostly from the US and Israel. Lebanese actors occur with similar frequencies.

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The analysis of the headlines further indicates that of course Gemayel and the Israeli army are most often mentioned for the assassination and the invasion stories. Most other actors only appear in the text, also those who occur very frequently, such as the various Lebanese politicians involved (Sarkis, Wazzan, etc.). One small difference can be detected in the prominence accorded to Arafat: although western newspapers mention him more often, the third world newspapers mention him more often (16 times vs. 9 times) in the headlines. In general, however, the degree of prominence accorded to actors in the news is more or less the same when we take presence in the headline as a criterion.

4. Conclusions

In this chapter we have analyzed the structures that lie at the heart of content analysis, namely the overall or global contents of the news about the assassination of Gemayel. Theoretically, 'content' was specified in terms of themes or topics and their hierarchical ordering, as they are made explicit by semantic macrostructures. It was shown how themes or macropropositions in processes of comprehension are strategically derived from local meanings. These cognitive strategies however presuppose vast amounts of world knowledge, and maybe subjectively biased by personal or social opinions, attitudes and ideologies.

News discourse heavily relies on the expression and comprehension of topical macrostructures. Headlines and leads can be seen as direct (subjective) expressions of the overall thematic structure of the news text, and are also strategically used as such by readers.

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By definition, then, they signal what is most important or relevant in the news text, and thereby at the same time indicate what aspect of the events denoted is most important. Headlines, as expressions of macrostructures, guide and monitor the reading and comprehension processes of the reader, and forcefully suggest what the reader should take to be the most important topic of the news item. The prominence of their lay-out in terms of (top) position, large and bold size of printing type, and cross-column extension, so to speak signals the prominence of the topic(s) it expresses.

In the news about Gemayel's assassination, we expectedly find that most news articles about this event indeed have at least part of the central assassination topic as their highest level macroproposition. Yet, there are also variations. In a closer analysis of the thematic structure of eight newspapers' coverage of the events in Lebanon, we found that except for the topics from the 'kernel' story, there may be differences in prominence, size, hierarchy or specification for the various background themes. Thus, both the qualitative and the quantitative analysis have shown that first world news items have somewhat more background themes than third world newspapers, especially when the negotiations (involving the USA and Israel) about peace in Lebanon are concerned. Some newspapers will not have a 'political consequences' theme at all, whereas othershave it prominently in the beginning of the article, even signalled in the headline. The same holds for the personal and political history of Gemayel. International reactions appeared to form a major theme in news discourse about both the assassination and the invasion, especially in third world newspapers.

Unlike other story types, news stories deliver their themes in installments. Instead of realizing the hierarchical thematic structure from left to right, they do so first from top to bottom, starting with the top-theme in the headline, and the highest level topics in the lead, progressively bringing more details of each topic. Yet, despite this top-down structuring of its content, a news item also appeared to have some linear ordering principles. The general rule is, indeed: the most important should come first. This means not only that highest topics come first, but also that of all aspects of the events the main event should be attended to first, and not for example the historical background. This indeed appeared to be the case for our data: most news articles start with a summary of the assassination events: bomb attack in party headquarters, confusion after the explosion (rumors about survival), Gemayel found dead. This MAIN EVENT may be followed by its historical and political 'embedding', viz. previous events or context (the election), and the consequences (who will be president?). Then, the historical and personal background of the current episode may be given: Gemayel's life history, previous attacks and his position as a Falangist militia chief, information which may 'explain' the current episode, such as the reasons and the possible authors of the assassination. Hence, we obtain a rough overall ordering principle for this kind of thematics: MAIN EVENT, MAIN CONSEQUENCES, CONTEXT, HISTORY. In the next chapter we will discuss in more detail the functional nature of these categories.

The quantitative analysis of the thematic structures of the news about Gemayel's assassination largely confirms what we have found in the qualitative analysis. Thus, it appeared that the cluster analysis, based on co-occurrence of various topics, closely follows the theoretical thematic structure. Of the assassination themes, bomb attack and death of Gemayel are of course central, both in first and third world clusters, but it also appeared that even more frequently we find the general-political-consequences theme, especially in western news, as well as the theme of international reactions and declarations. Here, we seem to find some quantitative evidence for the important assumption that (international) events and the news about them are measured by their verbal or other consequences. This provides a rather stable criterion for the relevance or importance of (news) events: a news event --and hence a news discourse-- is more important when it has more and more important consequences.

When we isolate the main actors from the thematic propositions, we find further evidence for this thematic organization. Of course, Gemayel heads the list, followed by Israel or its army and government. After all, they are patient and agent, respectively, of the two main events. This also shows in the headlines, where they occur more than other actors. Then, less prominent (not in headlines for example) but frequent as well, is the occurrence of the Lebanese groups and politicians involved in the events: leading figures such as Wazzan and Sarkis, the Falangist party and militia, other Christian groups and finally the various Moslem groups. Follow the USA, Reagan and Arafat: the first more often in the western press.

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From a thematic point of view we have not been able to detect dramatic differences between first and third world newspapers. There is much variance on all accounts, but most of it occurs within countries. Overall, the differences are slight. Since first world newspapers tend to have some more coverage, we may expect them also to have some more background, and hence more background themes. Especially those political background themes that are relevant for western countries are thus given attention. We have not found systematic differences in the structural organization of the thematics of news in first and third world newspapers. Political ideology of newspapers may assign somewhat more relevance to a topic that is confirming some major opinion in such a political analysis (e.g. the negative or the positive role of Gemayel, or of Israel, to which we will return in Chapter 7). Differences in background themes can easily be explained by the fact that most third world newspapers seldom have their own correspondents in Lebanon, and therefore must rely on the news agency dispatches, also for their background facts and analysis, if they have insufficient own staff writers or specialized editors. Apart from this difference, we may however tentatively conclude that the overall thematical content and organization of the news about Gemayel's assassination follow basically the same format in the first and the third world.

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Chapter Four

SCHEMATIC ANALYSIS

1. Superstructures and news schemata

In Chapter Three it was argued and shown on several examples that the topics or macropropositions of a news discourse may have various *functions*. Thus, such topics or the textual episodes they dominate, may be used to 'introduce' the story, they may provide 'background' information about topics that play a 'main event' role, and so on. Although we have freely made use of such plausible notions during the analysis of the topical organization of news, we have not yet dealt with such 'functional' dimensions of discourse in a more theoretical perspective. This chapter will deal with this kind of functional categories of news items in a more systematic way, and will explore whether news items can be significantly compared as to their overall, functional organization.

Since functions of topics, and hence of macropropositions, are discussed, we are apparently dealing with an organizational dimension at the *global* level of discourse. Thematic macrostructures in this case define the overall, global *content*, and require definition in terms of a semantic theory. The functional categories we are dealing with here, however, rather constitute the overall *form* of the text. This form can be defined in terms of (i) a set of conventional categories, which may be specific for a given type of discourse, and (ii) a set of formation and transformation rules which define the hierarchical and linear *ordering* of these conventional categories. The formal structures thus defined are sometimes called *schemata*, and have received widespread attention in current psychology.[1] In order to specify this very general term, used for nearly any kind of structural pattern in discourse or cognition, we use the specific theoretical notion of a *superstructure*. However, in order not to burden our discussion with too many technical terms, we will for reasons of readability also use the term 'schema', much in the same way as we used the notions of 'topic' or 'theme' in order to denote semantic macrostructures.[2]

A superstructure of a text, then, is a hierarchical organization of conventionalized categories, which may be 'filled' with macrostructural content, that is, with topics. Each category represents the overall function such a topic may have within the discourse as a whole. For instance, it is well-known that part of a news item may have the familiar function of 'background'. This means that one or more topics may be inserted into the Background category slot of a news schema. From our discussion in the previous chapter, we have concluded that most information in a news text may be functionally categorized in this way. In Figure 4.1. we give a tentative overall schema for the representation of the superstructure of a news item.

Notice that the categories involved have a 'conventional' nature. That is, the schema and its categories might be (or have been) different for different news formats or communication cultures. News

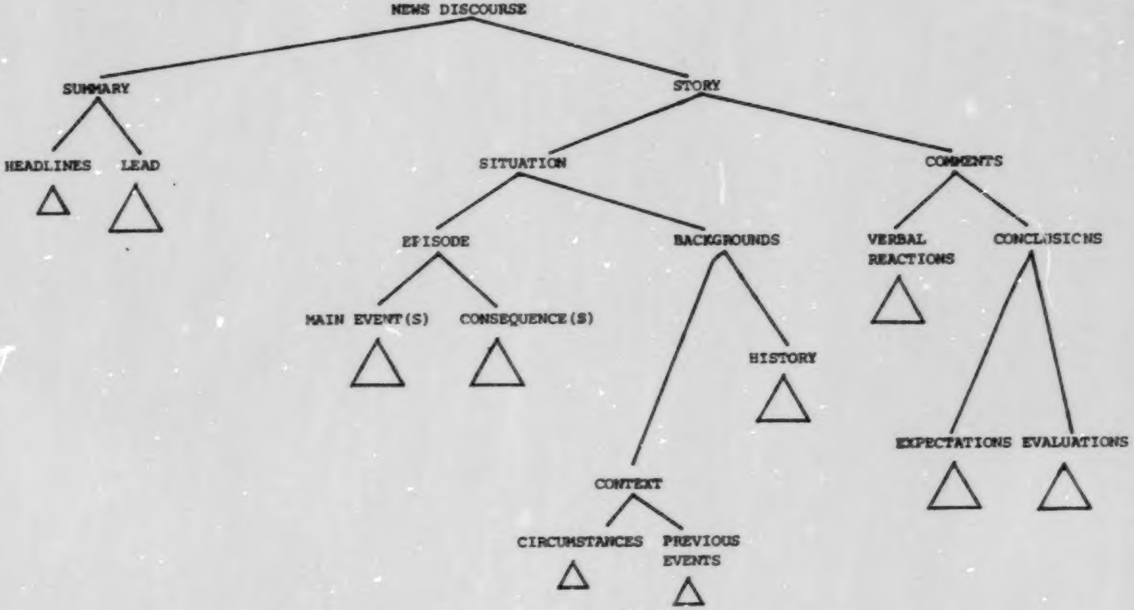
NEWS DISCOURSE
SUMMARY
STORY
HEADLINES
LEAD
SITUATION
COMMENTS
EPISODE
BACKGROUNDS
VERBAL REACTIONS
CONCLUSIONS
MAIN EVENT(S)
CONSEQUENCE(S)
HISTORY
EXPECTATIONS
EVALUATIONS
CONTEXT
CIRCUMSTANCES
PREVIOUS EVENTS

Figure 4.1. Hypothetical representation of the conventional schema (superstructure) of news discourse

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on the radio or on TV for instance has a different overall pattern. And a news item in the press is again structurally different from a background article. News schemata are conventional and hence learned, both professionally by journalists, and intuitively by readers. Journalists will routinely try to complete a news story in a way which is suggested by their implicit knowledge about a 'wellformed' news schema: if Context, Backgrounds, or Comments/Reactions are missing, they may search for information that would fill such categories. Although there is impressionistic evidence about this kind of implicit knowledge and the newsgathering strategies based on it, we hardly have sound empirical evidence however about the use of news schemata by journalists (or readers)[3].

Superstructural schemata have been postulated especially in the framework of linguistic and psychological discussions about so-called 'story-grammars'. The idea behind story-schemata, which could be specified by various story-grammars, is that each well-formed story also consists of a number of conventional (and hence culturally different) categories, such as Setting, Complication, Resolution, Evaluation and Coda (Labov & Waletzky, 1967, Labov, 1972). Similarly, both in story grammar and in the Artificial Intelligence approaches to stories, it is assumed that stories are analyzable in terms of action theoretical categories, such as Motivation, Intention, Goal, Act, Result, or similar categories.[4]

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Although it is certainly useful to analyze action sequences, as denoted by stories, into such or similar action categories, it should be borne in mind that they represent internal structures of, or knowledge about, *action*, and not necessarily the structures of action *discourse*, or stories for that matter. That is, a story may manifest an overall form which is not necessarily isomorphous with the organization of action. For instance, stories often begin with some kind of 'Summary', and such a category of course cannot be identified, as such, as a property of the action sequence itself. The same holds for the initial representation of a 'Setting', which obviously contains information that is relevant throughout the actions told about in a story. Hence, we should distinguish between the global 'syntax' defining the overall form or schema of a discourse, and the global semantics, which represents overall content, topics, or referential structures (e.g. the structure of action sequences the story is *about*). So, these two notions, that is, superstructures and macrostructures, should be carefully distinguished. Similarly the *overall*, *global* organization of stories should not be confused with their *local*, *linear* organization at the level of individual propositions or sentences and their connections.

Sometimes, there seems to exist parallelism between the ordering of 'events or actions in the world' (or at least in the model we have about such a situation in memory, See Chapter 3), on the one hand, and the ordering of topics, functional categories, or sentences in a story about such events, on the other. Thus, first events are also mentioned first in stories (see also Levelt, 1983, for this notion of ordering and linearization). Yet, there are also many examples of 'deviations' from this 'normal ordering', as we have just argued for 'Summary' or 'Setting' categories in a story. Literary stories, as opposed to many everyday stories in conversation, may exhibit even more complex transformations of normal ordering of event representations in stories.

We have mentioned the example of story schemata not only because the theoretical and descriptive literature about schemata is most extensive in that area, but also because news discourse has some resemblance with narrative. Indeed, at least in English, we often speak of news stories. Just as for other stories, we mostly have the semantic condition that news stories should be about human action, or about events that are relevant for humans. Stories must have an 'interesting' event that may complicate the lives of people, and then often feature some 'reaction' or 'resolution' category. At the same time, there are also important differences. First, semantically, news may also be about purely routine actions of (important) news agents. No unexpected event need to occur. Second, news items may also be about important natural events (although even then often in relation to human experiences or reactions). And third, the overall organization of news is different. Headlines and lead are not typical for (written) stories in general, although many (spoken) stories also feature a Summary category. Similarly, categories such as Context, Background or Comments and Reactions, are not, as such, conventional for storytelling. And finally, the ordering of news items is different, as we have seen for the 'installment' delivery of topics in news discourse. In spontaneous stories, something similar may happen when we forget relevant information and add this at a later point in the story. In the organization of news such a delay of topical information is rather motivated by the overall principle of relevance or prominence: give important information first. In natural storytelling, language users will on the contrary often delay such a 'point' of a story (Polanyi, 1979), for instance to enhance the effect on the reader. There are of course many other differences between natural stories, whether written or oral, whether planned or spontaneous, and news stories, but our discussion does not allow the specification of such theoretical and empirical details. Our point is, that also news discourse has a conventional, overall schema, consisting of a hierarchical pattern of functional categories. These assign overall functions to topics, and at the same time specify their 'normal' or 'preferred' ordering in the development of a news text.

Yet, there is a problem. Topics may be discontinuous throughout the text: they are expressed in bits and pieces, with their highest sub-topics first, and details (microstructures) later. It follows that the categories of a news schema should, at least partly, also have a discontinuous nature. For instance, the category of Main Event (or Actual Events, or Episode), need not be expressed by one continuous sequence of sentences in the text. In other words, the ordering suggested by Figure 4.1 is merely an overall tendency, which we have also found confirmed in the previous chapter: Main Events precede Context and Background, at least in many news items.

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Ordering rules, thus, are not strict or algorithmic . Rather, they are effective strategies for the production of news items. They indicate a 'more or less' structure of news, and hence have a fuzzy or probabilistic nature. They indicate parts of the text, and their function(s), where some kinds of information tend to cluster. The formal intricacies of such 'loose' structures will not be gone into here.

Yet, we can formulate a rough strategy, which transforms the static canonical structure of news items as it is specified in Figure 4.1. into a rather satisfactory dynamic model for the organization of news. This strategy controls production (i) from top to bottom, (ii) from left to right, and (iii) and again from top to bottom and from left to right within and across nodes. In other words, we first get the high level categories on the left, viz. Headlines and Lead, then the highest (macro-)information of the next node, e.g. of main events, then the highest of the next node to the right, and so on. Then, at a lower level, the more specific information of the first node again, then the more specific information of the second node, and so on. That is, we produce or understand the information in a news schema in much the same way as we read a text (top to bottom and, for English, from left to right). This overall strategy is of course determined by the important principle of relevance: important information must be produced (and read) first. This high level information not only provides the gist (or macrostructure) of the text, but also monitors the understanding of the lower level details (by top down processing).

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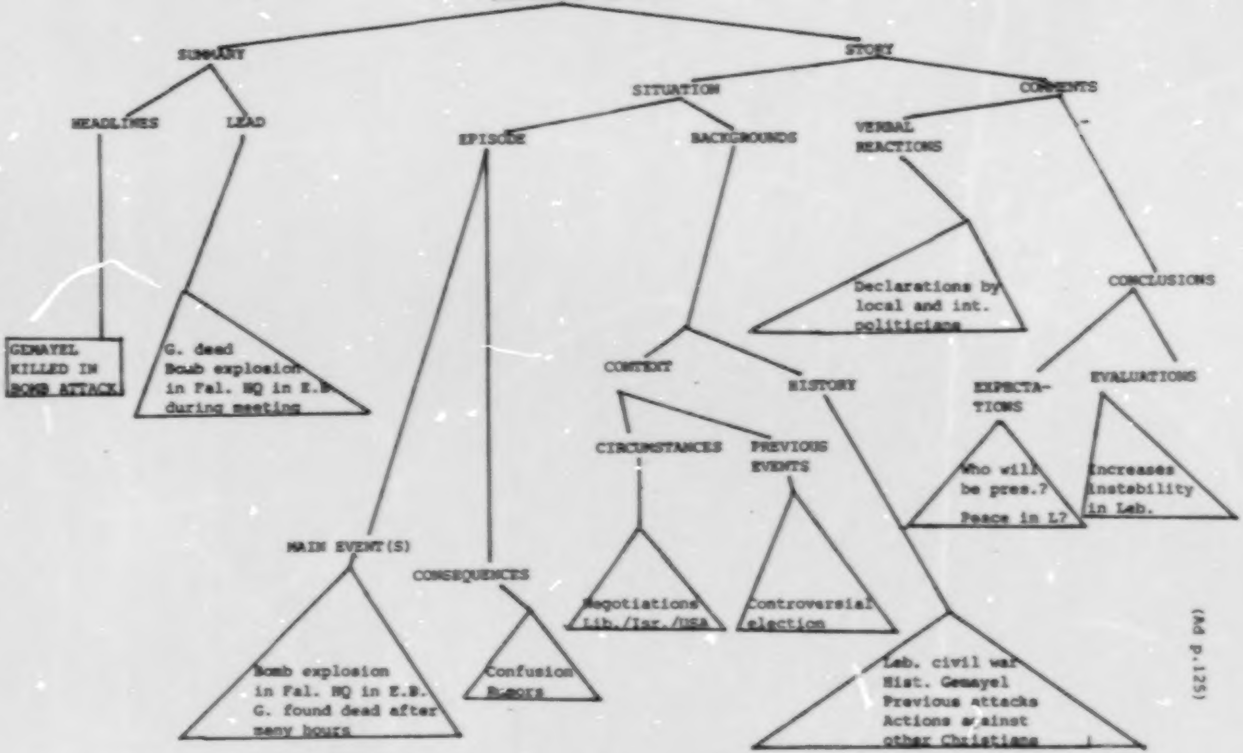
The superstructural organization of a news item, then, has both structural and strategic dimensions. It provides the necessary overall order and hierarchy to the sometimes vast amount of different topics in a text. And because such a news schema is (over-)learned, it at the same time can be used as an effective production, understanding and memory storage/retrieval schema by news users. Next, the schema exhibits the overall structure of a news item as a function of the basic relevance principle for news discourse: the summary of the main event in Headline and Lead will mostly be more relevant for readers and their updating of knowledge (and the actual understanding of a news item), then the information about Comments or Reactions. Time limitations or lack of interest in newspaper reading are contextual constraints that empirically determine this relevance principle, and hence the schematic organisation of a news item. Even after reading the Headline and Lead, we have captured the higher macrostructural levels of the discourse, which may be sufficient for our knowledge and belief updating in episodic memory (that is, for the reconstruction of situation models). Much other detail information is later no longer retrievable anyhow (see van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983, for general discussion[5]).

2. News schemata in the Gemayel-corpus

If we apply the theoretical principles discussed above to the analysis of news about the assassination of Gemayel, we obtain an overall schema for an 'ideal' report as represented in Figure 4.2. Since in the examples of eight newspapers analyzed in the previous chapter we have found that some news items may lack Background, Comment or Consequence categories, we may conclude that strictly speaking only Summary (Headline and Lead) and Main Event are obligatory categories. We have also seen that the way this schema is realized in the text, follows a 'production strategy' which takes topics from top to bottom, and from left to right, with high level information (in each triangle of Figure 4.2.) first, and lower levels of information second, third, etc. Within each triangle, the left to right realization of information also reflects some of the normal ordering inherent in the chronological expression of events. But we have also seen that relevance ordering may disrupt this principle. For instance, the death of Gemayel will usually be mentioned before the bomb explosion, and the rumor that he had survived may be mentioned after the information that we was finally found in the rubble of the building.

In fact, it seems as if in addition to the two-dimensional organization of a news schema we might have a third dimension, viz. that of foregrounding and backgrounding. These notions, which are familiar in the theory of discourse, and which apply both to the organization of sentence structure and to the organization of discourse as a whole, would explain why for instance the simultane-


SUMMARY
STORY
SITUATION
COMMENTS
HEADLINES
LEAD
EPISODE
BACKGROUNDS
VERBAL REACTIONS
Declarations by local and int. politicians
CONCLUSIONS
GEMAYEL KILLED IN BOMB ATTACK
G. dead
Bomb explosion in Fal. HQ in E.B. during meeting
CONTEXT
HISTORY
EXPECTA-TIONS
EVALUATIONS
CIRCUMSTANCES
PREVIOUS EVENTS
Who will be pres.?
Peace in L?
Increases instability in Leb.
MAIN EVENT(S)
CONSEQUENCES
Negotiations Lib./Isr./USA
Controversial election
Bomb explosion in Fal. HQ in E.B.
G. found dead after many hours
Confusion Rumors
Leb. civil war
Hist. Gemayel
Previous attacks
Actions against other Christians

(Ad p.125)

Figure 4.2. Example of a superstructure schema for a news report about the assassination of Gemayel. Propositions in triangles represent part of the themes organized by the schema

BEST C

ous (or near simultaneous) events that define the category of Main Event, such as bomb explosion, death of Gemayel, and the destruction of the building, can be given some 'perspective'. Obviously, the death of Gemayel is politically more relevant than the destruction of his party headquarters. The latter information, then, may be put more in the background in that case. We can do this by transforming the two-dimensional triangles in Figure 4.2. into pyramids (Figure 4.3.). Now, we can read figure 4.3 from top to bottom and from left to right, but also from foreground (front) to background. That is, 'same level' events may be differentiated according to their prominence or relevance. The production strategy, then, takes foreground information first, and background information second, possibly even after foreground information of a next category. Thus, major content or history information, for instance causes or reasons for the assassination, may be more relevant than the information that the building was destroyed or even that others were killed too in the explosion. Although some temporal/causal ordering may be found within categories (see Chapter 5), the main ordering is that of *relevance*. The lower we go in each triangle slice of a pyramid, the more details we find about each event as it is summarized at a higher level. Thus, the topic 'the building was destroyed' may at a lower level feature such information as 'the back wall was blown away, or 'there was a big whole between the first and second stories', or similar details. The same holds for the details of the macroproposition 'There was a rumor that Gemayel had survived the explosion'.

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(Ad p. 126)

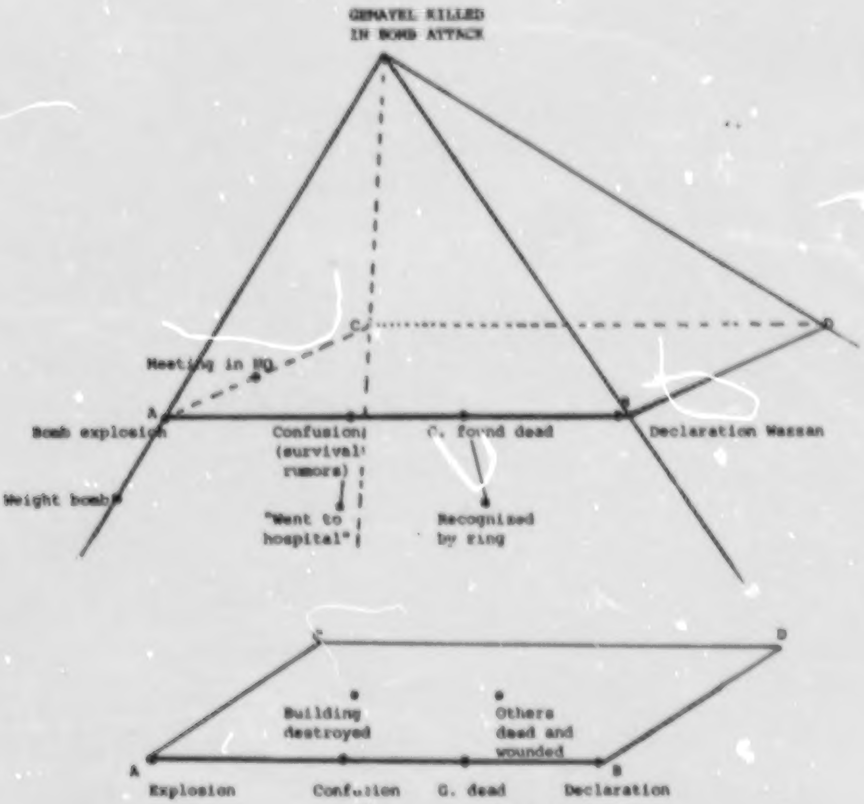
GEMAYEL KILLED
IN BOMB ATTACK
C
D
Meeting in HQ
A
B
Bomb explosion
Confusion (survival rumors)
G. found dead
Declaration Wazzan
Weight bomb
"Went to hospital"
Recognized by ring
C
D
Building destroyed
Others dead and wounded
A
B
Explosion
Confusion
G. dead
Declaration

Figure 4.3. Simplified schematic representation of the pyramidal structure of the Main Event category in the news about the assassination of Gemayel. Above the three-dimensional pyramid, below a horizontal cut of the pyramid at a high thematic level. High-low ordering represents macro-micro (theme-detail) ordering, left-right ordering represents temporal/causal relations, and front-back ordering represents foreground and background information at each thematic level.

2.1. Example 1. The New York Times

When we now try to apply this general schema to concrete news items, for instance to the report in the New York Times, of which the topical content has been summarized in example (3.3.) of the previous chapter, we obtain the following hypothetical assignments of functional categories to each macroproposition (we omit the Headline and Lead assigments because they are obvious):

(4.1.) a.	'Gemayel died when addressing 400 party members at weekly meeting'	MAIN EVENT (Circumstances)
b.	'Eight people died, and fifty were wounded'	MAIN EVENT (Results)(Actors)
c.	'G. was 34'	MAIN EVENT (Actor)
	'G. was to be inaugurated on Sept. 23'	CONTEXT (Goal/Expectation)
d.	'Premier Wazzan deplored the killing'	VERBAL REACTION
e.	'No one claimed responsability'	MAIN EVENT (Actor/Cause)
f.	'Fighting was feared'	CONSEQUENCE
g.	'Election of G. on Aug. 23 boycotted by Moslems'	CONTEXT (previous events)
	'G. was considered an agent of Israel'	CONTEXT (cause/reason?)
	'G was commander of the Christian militias'	HISTORY (Actor)
	'His troops enabled the election'	CONTEXT
h.	'No reaction from Israel yet'	VERBAL REACTION (default: empty)
i.	'It will be difficult to find a new president' ...	CONSEQUENCES
j.	'It happened on 4:10 PM Tuesday'	MAIN EVENT (Time)
k.	'Bomb of 400 pounds'	MAIN EVENT (Instrument)

l.	'It is unknown how bomb got into the building'	MAIN EVENT (Instrument) (Manner)
m.	'There were rumors that he had survived the explosion'	MAIN EVENT (Result: Fictitious)
n.	'Finally he was found dead in the rubble of the building'	MAIN EVENT (Result: Real)
o.	'Announcement of Wazzan of death many hours after the explosion'	CONSEQUENCE/ VERBAL REACTION
p.	'There were previous attempts to kill G.'	HISTORY
q.	'G. involved in killing of T.F.'	HISTORY
r.	'G. most hated man in Lebanon'	CONTEXT/HISTORY
	'His opponents were different groups'	CONTEXT/HISTORY
	'He also had enemies among Christian groups'	CONTEXT/HISTORY
s.	'In order to compromise with Moslem opponents, he promised to loosen his ties with Israel'	CONTEXT
t.	'Purpose of the meeting...'	MAIN EVENT (Circumstance)/ CONTEXT

From this assignment of the topics of the news in the New York Times, we may first conclude that it is possible to give a functional interpretation of the global contents of this text. However, for some assigments, this interpretation is not straightforeward. Some topics may be assigned to History, but might also count as Context information, and maybe both (after all, information may have several functions at the same time). Especially historical information that is still relevant for and part of the actual context, would qualify for both categories, such as the political information about the factional strife between the different groups

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in Lebanon.(the topics under r.). Similarly, the announcement of Wazzan about the death of Gemayel, may be interpreted as a regular 'consequence' part of the Main Event (the death of political leaders, according to script, is usually officially announced). Yet, it may also be taken as an independent Consequence. And, since it is verbal, it may also figure as Verbal Reaction. In other words, some topics may have several functions, although we could specify each functional category in so much detail that unambiguous assignments can be made. We here touch the actual limitations of the theory of news organization, and further empirical work will be necessary to explicitly define each category.

From this example we further conclude that within each category we might use further theoretical sub-categories, as we already did in the same example in the previous chapter. For instance, a Main Event may be further split up into Conditions, Circumstances, Actors, Acts/Events, Results, Goals, Expectations, Consequences, Time, Location and Instrument. Of course, this is legitimate, and in agreement with earlier work about story schemata. Yet, it may be recalled that such 'sub-categories' are not text schematic categories (conventional categories of a news schema), but rather general categories of the structure of events and situations, as we have discussed earlier. Hence, they should be seen as semantic, that is as general categories that may assign functions to topics (macropropositions), and which reflect the 'structure of reality' (our model of reality), rather than the structure of the text 'as such' (although both may be partly parallel).

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Next, the ordering of the major schematic categories is more or less according to the canonical schema: MAIN EVENT, CONTEXT VERBAL REACTION, MAIN EVENT, CONSEQUENCE, CONTEXT, HISTORY, CONTEXT, VERBAL REACTION, CONSEQUENCES, MAIN EVENT, CONSEQUENCE, HISTORY/ CONTEXT, MAIN EVENT. We see that the realization of the schematic structure follows the production strategy we have outlined above: first the major aspects of the main event, then immediate consequence and context, then further detail about the main event, and finally some background history leading to further context. If we now reorder the linear structure of (4.1.) into its hierarchical counterpart, we obtain the schema in Figure 4.3. Each terminal node in that schema features the (discontinuous) topics mentioned in (4.1.) by the letters of the alphabet. Comparison with the canonical news schema in Figure 4.2. shows that the news item of the New York Times is more or less complete. A major Reaction category is missing, but this is because this information is mentioned in a separate news item (the reactions from the White HOuse, etc.).

2.2. Other newspapers

In the other newspapers of which we have analyzed the topical structure in the previous chapter, we also find most of the schematic categories. If we inspect Table 4.1. we see that --of course-- Headline, Lead and Main Event appear to be obligatory. Not all newspapers, though, use a separate Lead, that is, a Lead printed in larger or bold type. Only half of the papers have a Consequence category, in which for instance the later events, after the assassination, are mentioned. Most newspapers mention at least one theme from the Context category, such as Gemayel's election and the opposition against this election by Moslem groups. Only a few newspapers do not give a more or less detailed historical background of Gemayel as a person and/or as a political leader (El Pais gives this History in a separate article). Verbal Reactions, e.g. from Israel and the USA, do not appear in all news reports either. For this and some other missing categories, there may be a lack of information about that dimension of the news. The two Asian newspapers are the only ones that at least formulate a brief evaluation of the situation in Lebanon after the assassination. For those news reports (such as in the Indonesian Times) that also bring the news about the Israeli invasion, this event could be qualified as a (Main) Consequence of the assassination events. Further, Expectations and Evaluations in most (especially Western) newspapers are usually given in a separate editorial, to which we will turn later.

(Ad p. 131)

	NEWSPAPERS							
SCHEMATIC CATEGORY	NYT	Granma	Excelsior	El Universal	El Pais	Svenska Dagbl.	Renmin Ribao	Indon.Times
Headline	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Lead	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Main Event(s)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Consequences	x			x			x	x
Context	x	x	x	x	x		x	
History	x	x	x	x	x/			
Verbal Reactions	x		x	x	x			x
Expectations					x			
Evaluation							x	x

Table 4.1. Schematic categories in 8 newspapers
(A slash indicates that the category is part of a separate article)

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The presence of a schematic category in a news discourse, tells us little about the amount, the complexity or the completeness of information in such a category. Indeed, some papers will only briefly refer to the political context of the assassination, others will in much more detail explain what the situation was during Gemayel's election. The same holds for most other categories, as may be seen already from the differences in length among the different items.

The ordering of the respective categories in the text is mostly according to the canonical schema: Headline, Lead, Main Event, Context and History, Verbal Reactions, and Comments. El Pais brings the Comment and Reaction categories fairly prominently after the Main Event category, and the Indonesian Times starts the body of the item with a concluding Comment and Verbal Reaction before continuing the Main Event topics initiated in the Lead.

(Ad p. 132)

	Main Event	Background	History	Context	Consequences	Reactions	Evaluations	Expectations
1. Los Angeles Times	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2. Die Burger	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
3. Mainichi Shimbun	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
4. Telegraaf	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
5. Volkskrant	x	x	x		x			x
6. The Guardian	x	x	x		x	x		
7. Renmin Ribao	x	x			x			x
8. Bangkok Post	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
9. Daily Graphic	x				x			
10. Indonesian Times	x	x			x	x	x	x
11. The Statesman	x	x			x	x		
12. Daily Times	x				x	x		

Table 4.2. Schematic categories in 12 newspapers from first and thirld world countries

2.3. The British Press

As a further example, we have taken the major national newspapers of one country, Great Britain, in order to compare their schematic structures. Data, collected by Schwartz (1983) show that on the 15th the British press did not yet carry the news of the death of Gamayel, but only that he escaped unharmed from a bomb explosion. This news was provided by Reuter's, which only later reported the death of Gemayel (after midnight, with a long story about the person of Gemayel). It is only on the 16th that the newspapers report the news about the death of Gemayel, but then the news about the Iraeli invasion completely overshadows the news about the assassination, which is then reduced to some details, such as Consequences (burial) and Reactions.

As we can seen in Table 4.3. the popular press on the 15th only pays attention, after a small headline, to the event itself: the bomb explosion and the escape of Gemayel. Only the Daily Star provides some brief Background (election) and Context. The quality press is much more complete and provides Backgrounds, Context, and History. Also the average length of these reports in these three papers is much higher (between 36 and 104 lines) than the very small items in the popular press (some 10 lines).

A first conclusion from this data is that the differences between types of newspaper within one country may be more significant, when news categories are involved, than the differences between newspapers in various countries, whether in the first or in the third world. Second, if news turns out to be incomplete after later dispatches, new events reported next day may highly reduce the full account of the first event on that next day. The british popular press, therefore, hardly carries details about the death of Gemayel.

(Ad p. 133)

		Headline	Lead	Main Event(s)	Background	History	Context	Consequences	Reactions
1. Daily Express	15	x		x					
	16			x				x	x
2. Daily Mail	15	x		x					
	16								
3. Daily Star	15	x		x	x		x		
	16			x					x
4. Morning Star	15	x		x					
	16			x	x			x	x
5. Daily Mirror	15								
	16			x				x	
6. Times	15	x	x	x	x		x		
	16			x		x/	x		x/
7. Daily Telegraph	15	x	x	x	x	x		x	
	16								
8. Guardian	15	x	x	x	x	x		x	
	16						x	x	

Table 4.3. Schematic categories in the British Press coverage on Sept. 15th and 16th.

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Chapter Five

LOCAL SEMANTICS

1. Some features of the local meanings of discourse

It is theoretically and descriptively useful to distinguish between the local and the global meanings of a text. Global meanings are characteristic for larger segments of discourse or for the discourse as a whole. They are typically denoted by such terms as we have used in Chapter 3: 'theme', 'topic', 'upshot' or 'gist'. Theoretically, they are accounted for in terms of 'semantic macrostructures'. Macrostructures, however, do not stand alone. They are derived from the local meanings of a discourse, namely by formal macrorules or by cognitive macrostrategies. By the overall, non-technical term 'local meaning', we understand the meanings of words, phrases, clauses, sentences and sentence connections. As the opposite of the term macrostructure, we also use 'microstructure' to denote such local meanings.[1]

Both at the local and the global level, meanings are basically described in terms of propositions. Traditionally, propositions are defined in terms of their possible truth values: they can be true or false (or: the sentences that express a proposition can be true or false). Another way of putting it, is to say that propositions denote facts. In both cases we are dealing with interpretation.

Interpretation and Models

An interpretation relates a proposition (or a sentence) with some kind of state of affairs this proposition or sentence is about or refers to. Such states of affairs may be real , but we may of course also refer to fictitious states of affairs, as we do when we lie, use counterfactual statements or when we are talking about dream or science fiction worlds. This means that interpretation is relative, viz. relative to some 'possible world', or to some specific time-place fragment of such a world, viz. a 'situation'. A discourse, then, denotes or describes the facts of such a situation. Yet, we have seen earlier that people cannot possibly have direct access to the bio-physical characteristics of possible worlds. Rather, they denote reality 'as they see it'. That is, they refer to their models of reality as they are represented cognitively in memory. We have called such representations situation models. Such models may be individual, personal or subjective. In that case a discourse (or a sentence of a discourse) may be 'true-for-a-speaker'. In general, though, 'truth' is reserved for the kind of models that are socially shared, or that can be shared due to shared principles of verification . These principles are also socially variable. In our time and culture, for instance, truth may be warranted by observation, by reliable sources or by admissible inference. This also holds for news discourse. An important part of the journalist's news ideology is that news should be 'true' and 'report the facts'. This means that the models and the criteria for their representation and sharing should be identical for different persons/observers. Yet, theoretically, truth in that sense remains relative, viz.

relative to models people share about the world. And of course, these models may themselves be biased, incomplete, partial, and at most inter-subjective. 'Real' objectivity is beyond the range of our cognitive limitations, although we may extend these limitations by all sorts of instruments that record reality more directly (but nevertheless still incompletely).

These few remarks about the semantics of discourse are important to establish the nature of the meaning and the reference of news. They are also intended as scholarly counter-argument against widespread ideological conceptions of the news as a form of at least intentionally 'objective' discourse. Truth, reality, or facts, then, are inherently relative notions. They depend on our models of reality, and such models are essentially (inter-)subjective. And this subjectivity is dependent on other (shared or personal) knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and ideologies about reality. Whereas models about the existence of a table or a fire may be highly shared and consensual, it is well-known that such a consensus is much lower for the 'objective existence' of such states of affairs as democracy, freedom, love or mental constructs such as theories and feelings. In other words, truth and reality, also for news discourse, are mental constructions, and different beliefs and attitudes may give rise to completely different assessments of what observers and speakers take to be 'real'. That the 'facts' and the criteria for their establishment are culturally and historically variable may be gleaned already from our 'knowledge' of the earth and the universe: who in his/her right mind would still call the earth flat, even when our sense data in everyday life hardly tell us different? This holds, a fortiori, for political, social and cultural events as they are reported in the press. That president-elect Bechir Gemayel of Lebanon died as a consequence of a bomb explosion is a fact that is shared by probably all those who have a model of that situation. Similarly, for many observers and speakers, and hence for most of the press, such a violent death was an intended consequence of a human act, and conventionally we are entitled to call such an act an 'assassination'. Yet, truth and stylistic appropriateness (choice of a term), are not completely consensual in that case. We do not call the death sentence of a murderer an 'assassination'. In the widely shared, and publicly reported models of many people, Gemayel was responsible for having killed other people. It follows that, maybe for some --the agents of the killing, for instance-- the sentence 'Gemayel was assassinated' may be less true than for others: for them, the sentences 'He was put to death' or 'He was executed' might have been closer to the subjective truth. The same holds for the assessment of the political situation during Gemayel's election, or for the political consequences of his death. At this point, the truth may even be much more 'variable . Depending on our analysis of the situation , we will indeed have different pictures of the reality in Lebanon and the Middle-East. What may be facts for some, may be sheer opinion or speculation for others. This may be a trivial conclusion, as long as we recall that it also holds for everything we call 'the facts' or the 'truth'. Any newspaper or journalist who thinks otherwise, might as well also think that the earth is flat.

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Propositions

A discourse, then, expresses the propositions that are intended to convey information about situation models. Part of this information may already be known to the listener or reader, and is merely expressed to bring that information 'to mind' in the receiver: it activates the relevant situation models in memory, so that the receiver can understand what the discourse is about. Other information may be new, and is expressed to obtain changes in the model, so that the receiver 'updates' his or her knowledge about reality. The meaning 'units' in which this information is organized are usually called propositions, but this notion is not without many theoretically based difficulties that cannot be gone into here. Intuitively, we said, propositions may be true or false, or they may denote facts. This will often be sufficient, but take promises, threats and congratulations. These may also express propositions, but the notion of truth for them is irrelevant, although the sentences used to perform such speech acts can rightfully also be said to 'be about' something, to denote something or to refer to something, such as to future acts of the speaker (as in promises or threats) or past acts of the hearer (as in congratulations). Hence, propositions may denote facts, but these facts may be merely fictitious, wanted, past or future, dreamt or otherwise dependent on cognitive operations. Language use and speech acts will then specify what sort of cognitive operation is at stake. For most of the news, this complication does not arise. News has the pragmatic function of an assertion. Its propositions are assumed to denote existing or probable facts in our own historical reality, and expressed with the intention that the hearer or reader should also know or believe these facts, viz. by adjusting his or her situation model accordingly.

Propositions consist of concepts and relations between concepts. If such concepts are themselves propositions, we speak of 'composite' propositions (which may be 'compound' if all have the same status or rank, for instance when propositions are linked by and, and which may be 'complex' if one proposition has a function within one other proposition, for instance after the word that). Thus, the concepts 'The president' and 'was killed', may be combined to form the proposition 'The president was killed'. The concepts themselves in this case are not propositions: the expression the president may be used to refer to a person, but in itself it cannot be true or false,nor denote a 'fact'. Similarly, we may also have a composite proposition, such as 'The president was killed, because a bomb exploded in his headquarters'. This means that not only concepts may be related to form a proposition, but also propositions to form composite propositions. The nature of the relation in the latter case may for instance be one of causation, as is aptly signalled by the word because . If each proposition of such a composite proposition denotes a fact (in some model), then also the relation between the propositions denotes a relation between the facts in the model, viz. the relation of cause-consequence. We here touch the notion of coherence for sequences of propositions and discourse, which we will deal with shortly.

Whereas concepts may be expressed, in some natural language, by words, a proposition is usually expressed by a clause or sentence: single propositions are mostly expressed by a clause, composite propositions by composite sentences.

Proposition sequences and coherence

But propositions may also be organised in a somewhat 'looser' fashion, viz. in sequences. And such sequences may be linguistically expressed by sequences of sentences of a discourse. If each proposition (single or composite) denotes some fact in a model, a sequence may denote a collection of facts. Sometimes this collection also seems to have a linear nature, as we see in temporally and causally ordered events. But in other cases, a linearly ordered sequence of propositions may denote other relations between facts, such hierarchical relations, inclusion relations, generalization relations or contrast relations, as in the sequence: 'In the room was a table. On the table was a vase of flowers. The flowers were blue'. In other words, proposition sequences are particularly apt to describe the various facts of a situation. Now, we call a discourse locally coherent, if its propositions denote the facts of a (possible or real) situation model, and if the relations between the propositions of the sequence correspond to (possible or real) relations between the facts in such a model. This of course requires that propositions, and hence the clauses or sentences that express them, are ordered in a specific way. For our discussion, for instance, the sequence 'A bomb exploded. The president died' denotes a real, causally related pair of facts, but the sequence 'The president died. A bomb exploded' does not have the same conditional interpretation. If the latter sequence is expressed, the changed order of cause and consequence signals that the latter sentence should be interpreted as an explanation of the fact denoted by the first sentence. Note by the way that it is not the proposition itself that has this function, but the use of the proposition by its expression in a sentence. Hence, the same facts may be denoted, but the way this is done by different sentences or sequences may also signal other functions of these sentences. Thus, the postposed sentence A bomb exploded denotes a fact in some model. The hearer's knowledge of such a situation (and in general his/her knowledge about the possible causes of deaths and especially the deaths of presidents) will supply the information that the explosion of the bomb is the cause of the fact mentioned before. Hence, the sentence that denotes such a cause may also be used to provide an explanation. This is the reason why we may distinguish between conditional coherence and functional coherence. The first is based on e.g. conditional relations between facts (but also temporal or spatial relations), and the second is based on the use of a proposition (or the sentence expressing it) relative to others, although such uses may presuppose conditional relations between facts (such as in the use of a proposition as an explanation, which presupposes a causal or reason relation between facts).

Again, we have gone into some detail of the semantics of discourse, because many features of news require explication in these terms. News discourse is intended as a description of facts and

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situations, and we should know how exactly this is done. Notice, indeed, that the 'facts' of our case study can be described in many ways:

(5.1.) A bomb explosion killed the president.

(5.2.) The president was killed by a bomb explosion.

(5.3.) A bomb exploded. The president was killed.

(5.4.) The president was killed. A bomb exploded.

(5.5.) The president was killed, because a bomb exploded.

(5.6.) Because a bomb exploded, the president was killed.

(5.7.) That the president was killed, was because of the explosion of a bomb.

and so on. There are many ways to describe 'the same' facts. The model-fragment underlying these various discourse fragments may be more or less the same. Yet, the meanings of the expressions in (5.1) through (5.7.) may be slightly different in each case. Hence the earlier noted necessity to distinguish between the semantic representation or text base of a discourse, and (fragments) of a situation model we thus may denote. Thus, in (5.1.), (5.2.) and (5.7.) the use of the nominalized form explosion seems to reduce the fact-like status of an event --taken as such-- to a much more subordinated cause or instrument of another event. Indeed, these sentences seem to denote one (complex) fact, whereas the other sentences seem to denote two,more or less connected, but distinct facts in a model. Also, we have seen that the use of independent sentences and a specific order may have other discourse functions, such as the explanation function of the second sentence in (5.4.). And finally, sentences like (5.5.and 5.7.) can be used to denote the cause of a fact that may already be known to the reader/hearer. In that case, the proposition expressed by the first clause may be called a presupposition. We come back to this notion below, but provisionally define a presupposition as any proposition in a model of the speaker (and in the model of the hearer as it is assumed by the speaker) on which the interpretation of other sentences/propositions depend (for instance: which make such another sentence true or false). In this example, the presupposed proposition is fully expressed --and signalled as such by its first position, by that and/or by intonation-- but this need not be the case. Presupposed propositions may sometimes be signalled by a single word, or by a specific meaning or the use of a word, as in 'Even the president was killed', which presupposes something like 'It is not usual (or probable) that a/the president is killed'. Presuppositions, then, are one of the most powerful means to convey --or take for granted-- information that need not be (fully) expressed by a discourse. We may expect that news, especially when delicate opinions or facts are involved, may make frequent use of sentences that have such 'hidden propositions'.

The important point of this section is that more or less the same situation or facts may be described by discourse variants that nevertheless imply different 'views' or 'perspectives' on those facts. This not only holds for different selections of lexical items (such as 'assassinated' vs. 'killed' vs. 'executed'), but also for the expression of propositions in composite sentences or sequences of sentences, in nominalizations or in full clauses, or in different orderings or hierarchical rankings. This means that also the models conveyed to the news-readers by these variants will be slightly different.

2. *Specification: from topic to detail*

A topic or theme of a discourse conceptually summarises the local meanings of the respective words, clauses and sentences of such a discourse. Headlines and leads express such summaries. And conversely, we may say that the rest of the text of a news item *specifies* this summarized macro-information expressed in the headlines or leads. In order to relate a study of the local meanings of news about the assassination of Gemayel with the global meanings and structures studied in the previous chapters, we therefore should first examine these specifications. The main event as a whole may be conveniently described by the summarizing sentence *Gemayel was assassinated by a bomb*, but we have argued in the previous section that 'the same facts' may be described in many different ways. This does not only hold for sentences 'of the same level' that are used to denote the identical features of a situation, but also --and especially-- when news reports 'fill in' the details of the same 'global event'. There may be differences in *degree of completeness*, *level of specification*, *selection* of details and *perspective*, to name only some major sources of variation in news discourse about the same complex event.[8] More than in anything else differences between news items and newspapers may reside in these different specifications of news events.

And next, even when the 'same' details are specified, there may still be differences in perspective, evaluation (as expressed by evaluative words or style), coherence relations and the ordering of details.

What kind of details?

A first question that needs to be answered pertains to the *kind* of detail news discourse typically provides. Let us therefore examine a few news items about the assassination of Gemayel, and try to categorise the specifications of the respective topics of the news stories. We do this by dressing a list in which first a topic is mentioned, second (a selection of) local propositions, and third the category of the specification relation. The category names we use are hypothetical, provisional labels, and denote various 'dimensions' of a situation or event (van Dijk, 1984). Thus, a situation may be specified by mentioning all participants, their various roles (agents, experiencers, patients or instruments), time, location, circumstances, component acts or events, and their respective properties or relations. The choice of sample newspapers is arbitrary for our illustration, but the stories should be complex enough to allow the analysis of details (some news stories only give the overall macrostructure of the event, as we had seen e.g. for *Svenska Dagbladet* in Chapter 3).

New York Times

1. Meeting of Gemayel at Party Headquarters
    1.1. Number of attendants: 400. (*Participants*, *Number*)
    1.2. Weekly meeting (*Time*)
2. Victims
    2.1. Approximate numbers of injured and deaths (*Number*)
3. Declaration by Wazzan
    3.1. Details of declaration (*Contents*)

4. Election of G.

4.1. Elected on August 23. (Date/Time)

4.2. During a special session of parliament (Circumstances)

4.3. Election boycotted by Moslem legislators (Participants, Opponents)

4.4. Because G. was considered an agent of Israel (Reason 4.3.)

5. Who will be the new president?

5.1. Sarkis until September 23 (Participant, Time)

5.2. New Elections (Possible consequent actions)

6. Bomb explosion

6.1. Bomb exploded at 16 h 10 (Time)

6.2. Bomb weighed 200 kilos (Weight, Number)

6.3. How was bomb introduced into the building? (Possible Manner)

7. Rumors about survival

7.1. Words of Gemayel (Specification of act, Contents)

7.2. Leg bruises (Consequences of explosion)

7.3. These rumors came from... (Source, Content)

7.4. G. walked away (Component acts)

7.5. G. went to hospital (Goal, Location)

(...)

8. Gemayel dead

8.1. After hours body found in rubble (Time, Result, Location)

8.2. No announcements on media... (Absent Consequences, Reactions)

8.3. Declaration Wazzan (Reaction, Contents)

9. History of Gemayel. Previous attempts.

9.1. There were two previous attempts to kill G. (Number, Comparison, Previous Events)

9.2. By a car bomb (*Instrument*, *Cause*)

9.3. First bomb on March 20, 1979 was defused (*Time*, *Result*)

9.4. Second bomb... (*Time*, *Circumstances*)

9.5. His daughter Maya killed (*Result*)

9.6. Attempts follow death of Tony Franjieh (*Time*, *Cause*?)

9.7. T.F. is son of S.F.(*Identification*, *Participants*)

9.8. S.F. was head of... (*Identification*, *Participant*, *Location*)

9.9. Son was killed by... (*Cause*, *Agent*)

10.G.had many enemies

10.1. Palestinian guerrillas (*Participant*)

10.2. Leftist Militias (*Participant*)

10.3. They opposed G. in civil war (*Role of Participants*: *Opponents*, *Period*, *History*)

10.4. Chirstian foes... (*Participant*: *Opponent*)

10.5. G. accused of killing... (*Cause*, *Act*)

10.6. Own party members found G. too soft (*Participant*, *Cause*)

10.7. G. had announced ... departure of foreign troups (*Plan*)

11.Meeting at headquarters

11.1. Last meeting before... (*Time*, *Number*)

11.2. Purpose of meeting: discussion to open bridge (*Purpose*, *Content*)

11.3. Bridge between East and West Beirut on.. (*Location*)

11.4. Some were opposed to this plan (*Participant*: *Opponent*)

11.5. Wazzan declared that bridge would remain closed (*Content*)

11.6. Discussion about private militias (*Purpose*, *Content*, *Plan*)

From this nearly complete list of local propositions (at this level of analysis still somewhat abridged), and their specification functions relative to the topics they detail, we may conclude that there seem to be only a limited number of categories to characterise these specifications. Typically for news discourse, we may first expect details of Time and Location. Next, additional Participants are specified, often with their political role, such as 'friends', 'opponents' or 'enemies'. Next, previous events and actions, often implicitly interpreted as causes, may be mentioned for the actual main events. The same holds for consequent actions and events. Consequences, of course, may also be mentioned in a hypothetical mode, namely as probable or possible consequences. Consequent acts are frequently presented as reactions with respect to previous acts, and conversely, acts regarding the future may be categorized as plans or goals. A specific type of Participant is Instrument, in this case for instance the bomb that was used to kill Gemayel. One overall feature of news details, holding for several categories, are numbers. In this item, as well as in most other reports about the assassination, the weight of the bomb is mentioned. Although this is merely a relatively irrelevant detail, such a precise number may give the impression (and often the illusion, because numbers may highly vary --as is the case for the number of deaths and injured) of exactness, and hence of truthfulness. We here encounter one of the rhetorical ploys of news discourse, to which we will return in the next chapter. Finally, specification takes place by mentioning the respective component acts of an overall act. The rumor that Gemayel survived the attack, for instance, may be specified by mentioning how exactly he was believed to have left the rubble of the building, how he walked and where he went, including results of the explosion (leg bruises). In general, then, specification of events and actions takes place by the enumeration of Conditions, Components, Consequences and Circumstances of these acts or events. For speech acts, this specification takes the form of mentioning, literally or indirectly, the Content of the declarations or reactions, as well as the Source(s) of declarations or rumors.

Gramma

In order to assess the generality of the specification types discovered above, let us examine some other news items, beginning with Cuban *Gramma*. Instead of dressing a complete table, we just give the kind of details and their categories:

1. Number, and (political) identification of victims.
2. Sources of declarations and rumors about survival/death of G.
3. Location and time of discovery of G.'s body.
4. Power (Number) of the bomb, and how and what was destroyed.
5. Identification of Gemayel and his father.
6. Identification of political opponents and Reasons for opposition.
7. Identification of those killed by G. (Opponents), Numbers of victims.
8. Participant Israel, type of relation (ally) with G.
9. Political conditions of G.'s election (Israeli invasion).
10. Political commitments (Plans) of G. during election period.
11. Reactions of Israel and USA to election (Participants).

We see that the same categories also figure in this news item: Identification of various Participants, their role (friend or foe), Time and Location of various acts and events, Causes and Conditions, Numbers, and especially the political Relations between Participants.

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France Soir

This French newspaper opens its lead with evaluative Comments about the Consequences of the attack against Gemayel: Lebanon heading for new adventures, the most instable country in the Middle-East... lost its new 'strong man'. Follow his age (Number) and month (Time) of election, as well as term he should serve (Time, Number). This Lead information is followed by details about Time when he should become president, Identification and Evaluation of acting president (Sarkis, 'very weak president"), day (Time) and Location of death and Identification (chief of Christian militias) of Gemayel. More than in most other papers, a next (boldly printed) paragraph details the political Consequences of Gemayel's death (confusion, risk of another civil war, revenge, stupor with the Lebanese). Then details about the survival rumor, Location (party headquarters, street, neighborhood in Beirut), and the Circumstances of the event (reunion with party members). Follow details about assumed survival (acts of G.) as well as their sources), announcement of his death, and acts of Sarkis who went to offer his condolences to the family in Bikfaya (Consequent Acts, Participants, Location), and details about the funeral (Consequence). Again, then, this paper presents evaluative speculations about possible Consequences (Sarkis will remain president). The same for the Consequences for and the Reactions of the other Participant involved: Israel (Evaluation: blow for). Then speculations about possible Agents of attack: who were his enemies? (Participants, Agent?, Opponents). Time of previous attacks. Time and Acts during civil war, and Evaluation about earlier luck.

Finally, the article closes with a paragraph about the political relations between Gemayel and his various Opponents during the election period (Time, Opponents and their Identification, Reasons for opposition), the position of PLO-troups still in Lebanon, and the first autonomous actions of the Lebanese army after the evacuation of French troups the day before (Time, Number, Participants).

We see that the detailing process in this news item again follows the principles outlined above, but seems to have more attention for (possible) Consequences of the assassination, more Evaluations of persons and the situation, and in general more Comments. Compared to other reports, therefore, this article rather combines the nature of a news report and that of a background article. However, this characteristic is not visible at the level of major topics, but can be found in the many evaluative details (even of style) in the text.

NRC-Handelsblad

This Dutch newspaper brings both the story about the assassination of Gemayel and, more prominently, that about the Israeli invasion of West-Beirut on the front page. The Lead specifies the major topics: Gemayel, president-elect of Lebanon,killed in bomb attack, an event which plunges Lebanon in a very insecure future. The text of the front page article (followed on an inside page by a larger political background feature), then systematically specifies the details of the explosion: Location of bomb explosion, Circumstances of the event (reunion), weight of bomb (Number), and Results of the explosion for building. Then, the rumor and details about the presumed acts of Gemayel. Follow the real Results: found dead, hours later (Time, Number), identification of body, and the declaration of Wazzan (Content). Then context and background details: date of election (Time), Identification of Opponents, Reasons for opposition (fears of more violence) or alliance (hope for a unified Lebanon). Finally, further details about Number of victims, ignorance about Agents, and diverse consequences among his followers after the rumor of his survival and the news of his death.

This relatively short article, thus, contains the usual specification of Location, Time, Numbers, Participants (Opponents and Allies), but also several paragraph segments with details about the rumor of his survival and how Gemayel was found and identified (by his ring). Information about his political stance and the relations with his opponents is fairly general: no details are given here about his personal and political history, and no details about the political consequences for Lebanon and the Middle-East. This political analysis, though, is given in subsequent articles on the inside pages, and focuses on the general situation of Lebanon in the Middle East and the role of Gemayel: negotations by Morris Draper about departure of foreign troups, election program of Gemayel, reasons for opposition (bloodbaths --no details), election ploys of Gemayel (bribes), friend of Israel but increasing political distance with this country, role of Saudi's, and speculations about who could become president (Amin Gemayel?). Finally, another article deals with the reactions in the Gulf States. From such background articles we get, apparently, a different kind of specification relations. Less details about acts, events, times, locations, and their numbers or qualifications. More evaluative, speculative, or inferential details about political relations between participant persons and countries. Some examples:

(5.8.) "Murder took place at a strategic moment"

> "Today, Morris Draper, who succeeded Philip Habib, would begin negotiations about a definite departure..."
>
> "These two events were closely connected"
>
> "Because Bechir Gemayel was elected on a program that promised order and peace in Lebanon...
>
> "In this way, Gemayel responded to the feelings of the large majority of the Lebanese, who after all the massacres and misery of the past eight years only want a period of security and peace."
>
> "The Saudi's, who invited Bechir to Teif in June, were enthusiastic about him, although initially they expressed their feelings very discretely and only later translated into hard cash."
>
> "... (the Israeli won't be inclined to withdraw their troops) Therefore, also the Syrians will have an alibi to keep their troops in Lebanon. The Lebanese have reason to despair."

From these examples, we see first that a political analysis involves Evaluations of events and actions ("Strategic moment", "events are connected", "were enthusiastic", etc.). Next, the wider spectrum of political Participants in the whole Middle-East is focused on: Israeli, Americans, Syrians, Saudi's, as well as their actions, attitudes and relations with Gemayel and the situation in Lebanon. Third, Explanations are given of acts and attitudes, e.g. the reasons why the Lebanese supported Gemayel, despite his previous actions during the civil war. And finally, grounded Speculations are mentioned about what the parties involved might do (withdraw troops or not). Some of these categories may also be found in the

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main (frontpage) news items, but there they will only have a marginal role, and will be limited to a brief evaluation of the political situation, a speculation about directly relevant consequences (who will be president) and often indirect suppositions about the political history and background that may have given rise to the main event. In other words, different types of newspaper articles can be characterized by their overall topical structure, and especially by the type of detail given: mostly Political Relationships , their Evaluation, a summary of the Previous Major Events and Speculations or Inferences about the Consequences of these in the immediate Future.

Conclusion

For a few newspapers we have examined in somewhat more detail how the news specifies topics, that is, how macrostructures and microstructures are related. These specifications are not arbitrary. They can be captured by the use of a limited number of categories. These categories typically are also those that organize situation models: Time, Location, Circumstances, Plans and Goals, Sub-acts (Conditions, Components, Results, Consequences), and their Evaluative modifiers. Striking is the frequent use of (quasi-)precise Numbers. Participants of the situation will first be identified, and then their role or relation specified (Opponent or Ally) as well as the historical and political reasons for this role.

There are variations among newspapers in the uses of these specification categories. Some news items focus on details of main events and acts. Other items specify especially the various politi-

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cal Participants. It seems that the news discourse becomes more and more 'analytical', the more it pays attention to cause-consequence relationships between various acts of participants. In Comment sections or background articles, this is especially the case. In that case, more Evaluation, Speculation and Explanation is given. Then, the very choice of details may be different. Thus, *Granma* only gives the historical details of the civil war that cover the time Gemayel was involved in the killings of other Christian groups, but no mention is made of the two earlier attacks against his life. *France Soir*, on the other hand, mentions these previous attacks, but does *not* detail Gemayel's own actions during the civil war, but summarizes the reason for the enmity against Gemayel by the phrase "his politics of refusal of compromise and submission". Similarly, *Granma* also emphasizes the fact that the USA and Israel welcomed the election of Gemayel, whereas the other papers usually only mention the fact that Gemayel was "considered" to be a close ally of Israel. And *Granma* also pays more attention to the fascist background of Gemayel and the falange, information that is usually omitted in other papers. We see that the analysis of details, specification relations and the categories of details given provide us with possibilities to differentiate news items and news papers even when they write about 'the same situation'. Although we now have made some first steps towards a more systematic and explicit analysis and comparison, a more interesting news analysis and comparison require a description of the differences in detail of a few selected aspects of the asssassination reports.

3. *Local coherence*[3]

While specification and summarization relate macrostructures with microstructures of a discourse, we speak about *local* or *linear coherence* when we analyze the relationships between propositions or sentences that form the microstructure. The first kind of relationship is so to speak vertical, whereas local coherence relations are as it were horizontal. We have seen above that local coherence is based on both meaning and referential relationships: in the first case propositions are connected, in the second case propositions are connected 'through' the links between the facts they denote in some model. Direct propositional connections are often of a *functional* nature: a second proposition *B* may be, for instance, a Specification, a Generalization, an Example, a Contrast, an Explanation, or an Alternative relative to a previous proposition *A*. There is no explicit theory about such functional relations in discourse, and we therefore must rely on systematic intuitions complemented with some underlying semantics. For instance, *B* is a Specification of *A*, if *B* entails (= semantically implies) *A*. Referential coherence of subsequent propositions, as we suggested, is established 'via' the interpreted relationships between facts: the proposition pair $\langle A, B \rangle$ may be locally coherent in that case if *A* denotes a fact *F*(*A*) that is a condition (cause, reason, possible condition) for a fact *F*(*B*), and/or if *F*(*B*) is a (possible, probable or necessary) consequence of *F*(*A*). This relationship may be rather weak. Indeed, the fact *F*(*A*) may just mention an aspect of a situation that enables the fact *F*(*B*), as in 'We went to Amsterdam. We saw the Rijksmuseum'.

The question then arises how local coherence is established in news discourse, and how in particular this is done in the newspaper coverage about the assassination of Gemayel. Apart from more general insight into an important aspect of news discourse, which might also shed light on its understanding by readers, this question is also crucial for our case study. That is, causal, conditional, specifying or explanatory relationships between the propositions of a news item may tell us much about the precise event model the journalist had in mind and wanted to convey. For instance, where some news items may simply use a weak conditional relation or a temporal relation, others may describe the same relationship between facts by a much stronger causal connection between propositions. And, typically for the news, coherence may be established explicitly by temporal connectives such as after, while or before, but the very ordering and the meaning of the propositions suggest --together with the world knowledge of the reader-- a stronger interpretation, e.g. a causal one.

With these few theoretical remarks about local coherence, let us now try to describe some coherence relations in our data. We take the clauses of the text as expressions of underlying propositions, although of course such propositions have an internal structure (a Predicate and a series of Arguments), which however we must ignore here. Words/morphemes that indicate the coherence relation involved are underlined. Note that not only whole propositions form the basis of coherence: also their elements may take part in it, for instance in referential identity (Gemayel / he), or identity of time, location, mode, or predicates.

New York Times (15.9.82)

1. President-elect Bashir Gemayel was killed Tuesday	
2. when a bomb shattered the headquarters of his Lebanese Christian Falangist Party in East-Beirut.	TEMPORAL (CAUSAL)
3. The Government said he would be buried today.	CONSEQUENCE(1)
4. Mr. Gemayel was said to have died	SPECIFICATION(1)
5. as he was about to address 400 of his followers at a weekly meeting	TEMPORAL/ CIRCUMSTANCE
6. (G. was) 34 years old	SPECIFICATION (Participant)(a)
7. who was to be inaugurated Sept. 23	TEMPORAL/ SPECIFICATION (Participant)(a)
8. The state radio said the blast left at least 8 dead	CONSEQUENCE(2)
9. among them other Phalangist leaders	SPECIFICATION (Participants)
10. and more than 50 wounded	CONSEQUENCE(2)
11. No one took responsability immediately for the bombing.	CONSEQUENCE(2)
12. It raised widespread fears that it would be followed by new fighting between Lebanon's Christian and Moslem militias.	CONSEQUENCE(1/2)
13. Mr. Gemayel was elected President Aug. 23 at a special session of Parliament	CONDITION(7)
14. that was boycotted by many Moslem legislators	SPECIFICATION (Circumstance)
15. (G.) who had been the commander of the Christian militias	SPECIFICATION (Participant)(a)
16. To them, many other Moslems and some Christian groups he was an enemy and an agent of Israel	REASON (14)/ SPECIFICATION (Participant)(a)
17. whose invading troups made his election possible.	SPECIFICATION (Partic.: Israel)/ CONDITION (13)

This fragmentary analysis of some coherence relations in the New York Times first shows that linear coherence is not merely limited (in news discourse) to subsequent clauses or sentences. Between parentheses we have indicated the previous clause/proposition (or the fact denoted by it) to which each proposition is related if not with the previous one. For directly related propositions, we have noted the type of relationships between the respective lines. Second, some relationships, such as Specification, do not relate back to a whole previous proposition, but only to one aspect of it, such as one of the Participants. In that case, we have used the constant a, denoting a specific individual, in this case Gemayel. Third, some propositions may be linked by several coherence links at the same time. Apart from referential identity, already mentioned, we may have a Specification of a Participant (as in clause number 7.), and at the same time a temporal relation (a future event). The same we find in 16, which is a further Specification of Gemayel, but at the same time may be interpreted as a reason of 14 (the boycott of the elections). Fourth, much of the coherence is accounted for by relations of Content after clauses denoting verbal or mental events (said, feared). For reasons of simplicity we have however taken such clause-pairs as one proposition (the that clauses that follow such verbs are in a sense necessary object cases of the verb). Fifth, part of the information necessary to decide what coherence relation is involved requires (political) world knowledge. Thus, clause/proposition 3. is a consequence of the death of a statesman. Scripts about politics, state structure, assassinations, etc. are required to establish such meaningful links. The same holds for 11: the assassination frame, script or model of this situation would suggest that information is given about the agents of the assassination or whether some persons or group would claim the act. Such a claim is a possible consequence of an assassination based on political motives. Sixth, sometimes coherence and coreference is somewhat fuzzy. In 12, the pronoun *it* would normally be interpreted as being coreferential with *the bombing* in the previous clause. However, the bombing as such would hardly be a sufficient cause for widespread fears about new fighting in a town like Beirut. Rather the important result of the bomb attack, viz. the death of Gemayel, would be such a likely cause, so that *it* should rather corefer to the fact denoted by proposition 1.

Although we have only analysed a fragment, we may on the whole conclude that news discourse shows the regular forms of discourse coherence. Both temporal/conditional links and functional links, especially Specification, occur, sometimes for the same coherence pairs. Contrary to natural stories, however, conditional relations are not parallel to the order of events: actual events come first and antecedent events may be mentioned later in the news story, and in general important information precedes less relevant details. Given our analyses in the previous section and the preceding chapters, we therefore indeed may expect a high occurrence of Specification relations (rather than say Generalization relations).

Granma

Let us also analyze the beginning of the report in *Granma*. We have translated the Spanish into (rough) English equivalents:

1. Bechir Gemayel died today	
2. *as a consequence of* the explosion of a bomb	CAUSE
3. *that* partially destroyed the quarters of *this* rightwing organisation in East Beirut	SPECIFICATION/ RESULT
4. (*G.*, who was) president elect of Lebanon	SPECIFICATION (Participant)(a)
5. and chief of the military forces of the Kataeb Party (falangist)	SPECIFICATION (Participant)(a)
6. *Further* 19 persons *also* died	CONSEQUENCE (2)
7. *including* 3 important leaders of *Kataeb*	SPECIFICATION (Participants)
8. *and* some sixty were wounded	CONSEQUENCE (2)
9. the news agencies informed	SOURCE (1-8)
(...)	
10. *Gemayel* was 34 when *he* died	SPECIFICATION (Participant)(a)
11. (*G.* was a) Christian Maronite	SPECIFICATION (Participant)(a)
12. *and* would become president next Sept. 23	TEMPORAL (Participant)(a)
(...)	
13. *G.* was considered to be the principal ally of Israel among the various right wing organisation in Lebanon	SPECIFICATION (Participant)(a) REASON (1)?
14. and *his election* as president of the country was considered a consequence of the zionist invasion	EXPLANATION/ CONDITION (15)
15. (*election*) on last August 23	TEMPORAL (14)

We have selected from *Granma* the propositions that are similar to those also expressed in the *New York Times*. The ordering and the coherence relations of the propositions are also similar. The opening Leads are practically identical. *Granma*, however, interpolates, between clauses 9 and 10, the information about the circumstances of the main event (when and where the body was found and the weight of the bomb), and between 12 and 13 it specifies some background history about Gemayel (information about his father, enemies during the civil war, killing of other Christian groups). Differences in the coherence relations between the two papers are as follows: (i) where *NYT* has a temporal relation that may be interpreted as a causal relation (between 1 and 2), *Granma* explicitly states the causal relation, (ii) *NYT* mentions Gemayel's alliance with Israel as a possible cause for the election boycot by Moslem legislators, whereas *Granma* does not explicitly link this fact with another fact in this passage (but with later information about the positive reactions in Israel and the USA to his election). On the whole, then, we find the same pattern of linear coherence links: cause-consequence relationships and specifications about persons or groups mentioned before. Interesting in *Granma*, finally, is the postponed SOURCE indication in 9, which is a well-known device of newspaper language that we do not find in other stories, where first position clauses followed by *that* (or in English also without *that*) must be used. So far, on the whole, we do not find interesting differences in local coherence between the reports. They simply follow the general pattern of local coherence links in news discourse.

Bild Zeitung

The West-German tabloid mass newspaper is mentioned here not only because it contains one of the shortest reports about the assassination in our data, but also because of its specific semantic style. Unlike most news stories, it does not open after the Headline with the major events, but rather follows a natural order, as we also find in storytelling. Style of the headline also suggests this special attention to possible spectacular effects ("Giant bomb rips apart the president of Lebanon. Recognised only by his wedding ring"). The propositional coherence between its sentences is temporal and conditional: "The 200 kilo bomb tore open the three storied house from bottom to top and then collapsed: the rubble buried the newly elected Lebanese president Bechir Gemayel (34). His body was so much ripped apart, that friends could only identify him by his wedding ring. With Gemayel 26 leading officials of the Falangists died and 60 others were wounded." An inside page mentions in two sentences some of the personal history and politics of Gemayel , the opposition of the PLO and two earlier attacks against his life, in which his daughter Maya was killed. Interesting of this short notice is that apart from its short sentences, its ordering is narratively more coherent than most news discourse. The narrative style is rhetorically even more effective due to the lexical style of words as 'ripped appart', 'tear open' and details such as the identification by a wedding ring. We will come back to these stylistic features of the news items later. Interesting for our discussion at this point is only the conditional/temporal (narrative) ordering of propositions in this paper, a type of ordering hardly found elsewhere.

6. *Implications*

Another important aspect of the local semantics of discourse are the various *implicational* relations between propositions.[8] These mostly do not hold between actually stated (full) propositions, but between a stated or expressed propositions, or parts of it, and an implicit proposition. In formal terms, *semantic implication* or *entailment* is defined in terms of truth values: *A* entails *B* if when *A* is true also *B* is true. And since semantic content is also involved in this entailment relation (and not only formal, syntactic derivability), it is usually added that this truth preservation is modal: it holds necessarily. Thus, the proposition 'A is a bachelor' entails 'A is not married'. In other words, entailment is a property of conceptual relationships between propositions: 'unmarried' is an inherent component of the concept of 'bachelor'. Yet, implications may also be of a weaker or more 'empirical' nature, and hold on the basis of our knowledge of the world. Thus, if we read the sentence 'Gemayel was killed by a bomb' we may *infer* that the bomb exploded (and we would not infer, say, that he was killed by the bomb falling on his head or that the bomb strangled him). In this case, the inferred proposition is derived from the given sentence *together* with our knowledge and beliefs about the world, e.g. about bomb explosions and possible causes of death. Next, even weaker implicational relationships exist, such as those having a socio-cultural, or a merely probable or possible inferential capacity. Thus, if we read in many news accounts that the election of Gemayel was boycotted by Moslems, we may infer that it is probably the case that they were against the elections, and/or that the Moslems were against Gemayel in general. Similarly, most news items mention that Gemayel had many enemies. This statement makes sense in the context of his death only if it implies that his death is possibly caused by one of these enemies. Yet, this is seldom stated explicitly in the news. Rather, a combination of propositions weakly implies (i.e. suggests) such an unstated proposition or causal link between propositions.

Thus, we have a whole class of implicational relations, and these allow different types of inference, from necessary conceptual ones and empirically 'necessary' (e.g. causal) ones, to weaker forms of implicature and suggestion. News discourse makes frequent use of such implications because they allow the journalist to imply possible or probable propositions without explicitly stating them. Given a lack of facts or doubtful sources, this safeguards the journalist against possible accusations of inaccuracy, speculation or downright accusation (and hence libel!).

Another form of implicitness can be obtained by various forms of *indirectness* or *vagueness*.[8] Indirectness is not based on implication but on what may be called semantic 'contiguity'. Instead of mentioning an event or act, only one dimension, for instance a condition, is mentioned, but in such a way that the reader may again infer the whole act, given script or model knowledge. If the fact that my wallet is stolen is known, and I assert 'Peter was badly in need of money' , a listener may infer that I indirectly accuse Peter of the theft. The same holds for speech acts. An indirect speech act may be performed by performing a speech act that esta-

blishes the conditions for another, the intended, speech act. Instead of saying 'Do you have something to eat for me', we can say 'I am hungry'. Thus, assertions are often used to make requests or accusations. Vagueness on the other hand is rather conceptual: instead of expressing an appropriate and precise concept to denote a person or a property of that person, we may use a much more general, less precise term, for instance a term that has less negative implications. Instead of saying that Peter stole may wallet, we may say that Peter took it away. Again, in politically delicate situations, as well as in newspaper reports about such situations, indirectness and vagueness may be appropriate in order to avoid unwanted inferences. In other words, what we have discussed here suggests that implications of various types may be used to allow or suggest inferences that are probable or wanted, but not stated, whereas indirectness and vagueness operates the other way around when used to block unwanted inferences or again to conceal delicate inferences.
Let us give some examples from our data.

Thus, when the New York Times (15.9.) sketches the background of Gemayel's life by "(there were) attempts to kill Gemayel before ... (which) followed the death of Tony Franjieh thought to be killed by Phalangists under Mr. Gemayel's direction", this sentence weakly implies but strongly suggests that the earlier attempts at Gemayel's life were a revenge (by the Christian groups?) for these killings. The use of the general but vague temporal verb "followed" is one of the standard ways news discourse may suggest causal relationships without explicitly stating them.

Similarly, when Granma (15.9.) reports that the USA immediately after Gemayel's election "expressed their satisfaction", this proposition implies that the USA favored Gemayel and his election. In fact, what we have here is not merely an implication, but a presupposition. Formally, a presupposition of a proposition (or sentence) p is defined as any proposition q, such that both q and not-q entails p. Indeed, if we would read that the USA did not express its satisfaction, it would still be entailed that the USA favors the election of Gemayel (but did not express it for some reason). Less formally we may say that a presupposition is any proposition that is taken or assumed to be true (by the speaker) in order to be able to adequately express another proposition. In still other terms: a presupposition is all the information 'taken for granted' by a speaker when expressing some information. Also isolated concepts may have such presuppositional values. Thus, if the New York Times speaks about "new fighting between Christians and Moslems", the use of 'new' presupposes that there was fighting before between these groups. And when Granma states that Gemayel travelled to Israel several times for "secret reunions" with the Israeli's, this presupposes that the reunions were politically controversial or intolerable for the opponents of Gemayel. More weakly, this expression seems to imply that Gemayel was a traitor or a spy, as we indeed find in many news reports about the attitudes towards Gemayel in Lebanon, at least among his Moslem opponents.

The use of vague terms may also have the stylistic or rhetorical function of an understatement or a mitigation. When Excelsior states that Gemayel was "impopular with the Moslem community of Lebanon", this is a *de facto* inaccurate use of 'impopular', instead of 'hated', and hence an understatement.if the stronger concept is actually meant. Indeed, other reports state that Moslem mothers in Lebanon used to threaten their children to "get Bechir" as the worst possible punishment.

Our news items, especially their evaluative sections, are replete with these implications, suggestions, indirect and vague uses of terms and other means that manage inferences. When *France Soir*, unlike the other newspapers, explicitly states that acting president Sarkis is "weak", the implication is that Gemayel would have been a strong president. That is, properties of persons are usually not stated *in vacuo*, but are *functional* descriptions, which may be used, implicitly or explicitly, in order to *explain* acts or other properties of such persons (by attribution), or to highlight--e.g. by contrast,as in this case-- properties of others.

Politically more delicate are analyses of the news that involve implicational structures of a more complex kind. Inferences in that case may presuppose intricate networks of political knowledge and attitudes, and of course these may be different for different readers of different ideological convictions. Thus, most news items mention the fact that Gemayel was considered to be a 'strong leader' and that, despite various forms of hate or distrust with both his Christian and Moslem opponents, he might be the only one who could bring about the generally desired unity of Lebanon. The perspectives on these 'facts' may however by rather diverse. The aims and interests of the directly involved parties, such as the Christian and Moslem or leftist groups in Lebanon itself, as well as Israel, Syria and the USA, are simply too diverse to guarantee the same evaluation of the facts. Thus, if we read in *Ma'ariv* a report by its Washington correspondent about the reactions in the USA to the assassination, saying that the "the USA supported the election of Gemayel in an attempt to (...) bring about a strong central government in Lebanon", this is a correct reproduction of the political aims of the USA, and --implicitly--- those of Israel. Yet, the phrase "strong central government" seems to imply that the USA *only* wants such a strong central government, and hence only has good intentions in Lebanon. From another point of view, however, it may be argued that the government wished by the USA should not just be strong but rather 'favorable to western (American) interests'. This is of course an inference based on the general assumption that the USA usually supports foreign governments only if they are not opposed to American interests (or rather: if they are clearly in favor of such interests)(see Carbonell, 1979, for a detailed theoretical simulation of such ideological inference structures). In other words, the correct statement of *Ma'ariv*'s correspondent may from another point of view be taken to be at least one-sided or incomplete. We here touch upon another important dimension of the 'implicit', viz. the conscious or unconscious absence of specific propositions or implications. The *non-stated*, indeed, may sometimes tell us more about the background ideology of the news than the expressively stated information[7]. Hence, inference and implication are never neutral and the same therefore holds for our analysis of 'implied' information in news.

5. Conclusions

If our discourse analytical approach to the news is supposed to offer more than a superficial account of 'content', this should become apparent especially in a systematic semantics. After the analysis of the global structures of news content and form in the previous chapters, this chapter therefore focused on local meanings, that is, the meanings of words, clauses, and sentences. It was shown that news can be analyzed in terms of propositions and their internal structures or their mutual relations. Propositions relate sentences with possible worlds, or rather with cognitive models of such possible world fragments, that is, with situation models. Such an approach allows us to show how 'the same facts' in a model can be represented by different sentences having different meanings. Also, this analysis enables us to demonstrate that both the cognitive situation models and the interpretations of news discourse are necessarily subjective or at most intersubjective.

One aim of a local semantics of news discourse is to describe how overall themes or topics are related to more specific meanings, that is, how macrostructures are linked to microstructures. If macrorules or macrostrategies derive topics from the local meanings of a text, we may expect that the inverse operation involves various types of specification. We found that in news discourse such specifications are constrained to a limited number of categories. Details are given about Time, Location, Circumstances, Conditions, Causes, Consequences and Component acts, as well as about various Participants and their properties (e.g. their roles and mutual relationships).

This also holds for the news about the assassination of Gemayel, and the various newspapers seem to follow the same type of specification relations. Rather typical for news discourse in general, and also for our case study in particular, is the often rhetorical use of numbers, for instance to indicate the number of victims of the bomb explosion or of previous events in which Gemayel was involved. Similarly, when roles of participants are specified, we often find an indication about their political relationships: are they friend or foe? Background articles, or news that has a more evaluative nature, also feature other specification operations, such as qualification, evaluation, speculation, or conclusion.

Specification operations link, vertically, high level topics with local, low-level meanings. Another fundamental aspect of the local semantics of news is local or linear coherence, defined as a relation between propositions relative to some model. Unlike natural stories, news stories not only make frequent use of conditional or causal coherence links, but also often feature functional links between propositions, such as Specification, Explanation or Comparison. Thus, we found that temporal coherence relations in the news should sometimes be interpreted more strongly in terms of causal coherence. As for the interpretation of coherence in general, such specific interpretations require extensive social and political knowledge and beliefs, both from general scripts and from more particular models of the situation. Indeed, these scripts and models specify what information can be expected given any proposition in the text.

Finally, it was shown how also the news about Gemayel's assassination features several types of implication and implicitness, that is, information that is not stated but presupposed, entailed, weakly implied, suggested, or otherwise not expressed but consciously or unconsciously intended. To avoid errors, accusations, or even libel, the semantic devices of the implicated and the implicit are powerful instruments of the journalist. They allow him or her to convey information for which he or she cannot be held responsable. In our case, for instance, it is politically rather delicate to speculate about the possible authors of the assassination without making false accusations. Yet, readers expect serious information about possible authors of such an assassination, and therefore the journalist must accomodate such expectations by means of a series of semantic ploys, such as indirectness, coordination of facts, vagueness or other forms of implicitness.

Comparison between first and third world newspapers could not be made in this chapter. Fine grained local semantic analysis is too difficult to quantify for sufficiently large samples of news articles to make such a comparison meaningful. A comparison between politically rather different newspapers like the New York Times and Granma shows that the basic principles of local coherence and implicitness hold for both newspapers, but that on some points Granma may be more explicit than its prestigious northern neighbor. Again, differences can be detected especially between serious, quality newspapers and popular (tabloid-style) newspapers. The latter often feature a local coherence style that is close to that of dramatic narrative: connections between clauses or sentences rather follow the natural order of conditions or causes to consequences, and not the relevance order that goes from more important to less important information and which is mostly based on various Specification operations.

These few provisional conclusions about the local meanings of news in general, and of the news items about Gemayel in particular, bring us somewhat closer to an understanding of international news. Yet, much empirical research and further theory formation is still to be done, and instruments should be developed which could use such an analysis also for a large scale, comparative study of world news.

Chapter Six

STYLE AND RHETORIC

1. Contextual adequacy and persuasive effectiveness: style and rhetoric

Style and rhetoric are the major dimensions of the appropriate _formulation_ of news. In the previous chapters, we have been concerned with global and local meanings and their organization or functions. These meanings or structures can be communicated only, however, if they are verbally expressed or 'formulated'. This formulation takes place in terms of lexical units ('words') and their orderly arrangement in clauses or sentences, and finally in terms of sounds or graphical symbols. That is, we now turn to the syntactic and phonological structures of discourse, as well as to the phonetic or graphical realization that enables the transmission of these structures and their 'underlying meanings'. To contrast these structures with the underlying meanings or functions, they are sometimes also summarized with the handy label of 'surface structures'.

The links between underlying meanings or functions and their surface structure formulation are not fixed but variable. More or less the same meanings may be expressed by different surface structures. Thus, the sentences _The man visited his physician_ and _The guy went to see his doctor_ contain different words but express more or less the same meaning and may be used to denote the same action. Similar variation may be obtained by changes in word order or by a different pronunciation of the sounds that realize these sentences. These variations, though, are not arbitrary. They may be consciously or unconsciously controlled by other communicative factors, and they may thus have different *functions*. It is this kind of functional variation in the selection of surface structures of a discourse that we call the *style* of a discourse. Language users have well developed intuitions about style. They often know, implicitly, when specific style features are adequate or not. They also know, for instance for the two example sentences just mentioned about the doctor visit, that one sentence is more 'formal' than the other. They know that the use of *guy* is more informal than that of *man*, but also that there are *situations* when the use of *guy* is less appropriate than that of *man*. In other words, style is situation bound.

Despite these intuitions of language users, the study of style is still theorstically confused.[1] Definitions abound, but systematic methods of style analysis are still lacking. We have above limited the notion of style to variations in surface structures. Sometimes though the notion of style is also used to denote characteristic variations of structure or even of content at other levels of description, for instance when we speak about different 'styles' of storytelling, argumentation or conversation. And in that case, we are dealing not only with the style of a discourse, but also with the style of a speaker or writer. Style in that latter sense is a personal characteristic of a language user, something like a linguistic fingerprint. In the same way, we may speak about the style of a newspaper, or even about the style of the media. We shall not use this extended meaning of the notion of style,however, because in that case we simply mean the totality of (characteristic) textual structures of a language user, of a discourse medium or of a set of these. For our discussion, thus, style is merely the structural result of situation specific variation in surface structure. For news discourse, this means the specific choice of words, syntactic ordering and the graphical presentation of the text. This conception presupposes that more or less the same meaning or referent, such as the same event, is maintained across style variation.

Apart from surface variation in the text, we need another major component in a sound theory of style, viz. the *situation* . We have assumed that style is not arbitrary, but (often) functional. That is, it may 'indicate' or 'signal' specific properties of the communicative context. These properties may involve both permanent and,especially, transient characteristics of the participants, such as the attitude, the opinion or the mood of the speaker. Our choice of words or our word ordering may signal a positive or negative oopinin about the event we are describing, or that we are angry or in love with the listener. Similarly, stylistic variants may signal our social characteristics, such as gender, status, group membership or power, as well as our social relationship with respect to the listener, as in politeness of submissiveness. In other words, the style of a discourse is the way a discourse signals its embeddedness in the communicative and social contexts.[2]

In this latter respect, *rhetoric* resembles style: it also indicates a relationship between *text and context*.[3] Yet, it does so in a structurally and functionally different way. Whereas style expresses the *adequacy* of a discourse with respect to a communicative context and social situation, rhetoric has to do with the intended *effectiveness* of the discourse with respect to the listener or the reader. In a rather loose way, we might say that style is speaker oriented, and rhetoric is hearer oriented. Style relates with the personal or social position of the speaker. Rhetorical structures of a discourse are goal-oriented and used to make the discourse more acceptable to the hearer or public. In this sense rhetoric is closely related to the *persuasive* functions of discourse, whereas as style can characterize any discourse function (although it is often associated with the 'expressive' function of language).

Whereas any discourse has style, since always a specific variant (word, word order) must be chosen, not all discourses display rhetorical patterns. These are not 'inherent' in the discourse structures, but so to speak freely 'grafted upon' them, as some kind of additional structures. Instead of selecting two words that together express some underlying meaning, we may want to select two words that begin with the same consonant or vowel, and thereby produce an assonance or alliteration. Such sound identity does not, as such, add anything to the meaning of the word pairs, nor does it have a specific personal or social function. Rather, it may make the word pair more conspicuous, so that more attention is paid to it, which may result in 'better' processing, memory storage and retrieval and therefore possibly to enhanced effectiveness in the (trans-)formation of knowledge and beliefs. The same may hold for other rhetorical 'figures', such as rhyme, parallelism in syntactic ordering of clauses or sentences or other operations at the levels of surface structure. Similarly, operations may take place at the levels of meaning or pragmatic function (speech acts). Metaphor, metonymia, irony, understatement, hyperbole, contrast or repetition are well known rhetorical figures. In rough terms, such specific semantic patterns involve the possibly effective substitution of a meaning *A* for another (expected, 'normal', unmarked, etc.) meaning *B*. This does not mean that we can always precisely retrieve or pin down *what* meaning *B* is expected or normal. So, hypotheses about the probable intentions and the context of the speaker may be needed to reconstruct this meaning *B* as it is replaced by meaning *A*. Thus, in order to emphasize the relevance and thereby to influence the effectiveness of meaning *B*, we may have recourse to an exaggerated form *A*. And by the use of a metaphor we may want to highlight a specific meaning dimension of a concept within the overall meaning and the context of a discourse: we call somebody a 'lion' in a fight and not just 'brave'. This is but an informal approximation of semantic rhetorical figures; an adequate theory has many intricacies that we must ignore here. Essential though for a rhetorical analysis is (i) that specific structures of all levels or dimensions of analysis are involved, which mostly can be defined in terms of 'transformations' (identity, repetition, substitution, addition, permutation) of 'normal' (unmarked, expected, grammatical) structures, and (ii) that such 'figures' are basically used to enhance the effectivess of the discourse or part of it with the hearer or reader. The social or cognitive causes for the intended or obtained effects may be variable: an expression may become better organized, esthatically more pleasing, more remarkable, better marked, surprising, and so on. This all comes down to special cognitive processing: the discourse fragment will be 'better' processed (more attention, time, memory resources, or deeper and more extensively) than without the rhetorical transformation. And it is a general finding of the psychology of discourse processing that in that case the discourse fragment may be 'better' stored, i.e. involving more structural links, in memory.[4] Not only the discourse is 'marked' in that case, but also its representation in memory. This may also facilitate retrieval and use, which will enhance the use of the information involved in the formation of our knowledge and beliefs. And even the following association may be established: an 'interesting' (nice, kind, funny or beautiful) way of formulating may be associated with 'interesting' underlying meanings and concepts, so that the message may also become more persuasive in changing the beliefs of the listener. Again, this is only an approximate analysis of the cognitive effects of rhetorical structures. Unfortunately, we have little systematic experimental evidence, nor even a good theory, about the cognitive processing of rhetorical figures. But since effectiveness is the basic goal of rhetorical structures and persuasive functions of discourse, it goes without saying that cognitive and affective processes must be made explicit in a full-fledged theory of rhetoric.

We see that both style and rhetorical structures link text and context. Both relate discourse structures with communicative participants and both may indicate some form of 'appropriateness' of the discourse with respect to the communicative situation. The choice of specific stylistic variants, though, is by rule bound to specific personal and social properties of the speaker. Since style is a reliable indicator of this kind of 'position', it is a favorite domain of analysis in sociolinguistics. Rhetoric on the contrary is structurally speaking 'free': we need not use specific rhetorical figures. We may do so, however, in order to make a discourse more effective, for instance under the monitoring function of persuasion. Here notions such as attention, memory, storage, retrieval and the change of beliefs and opinions are typically involved, as well as the communicative goals of a discourse, which typically make rhetoric the object of study for cognitive and social psychologists or researchers in speech communication. Together though, style and rhetoric are part of a study of the contextually 'appropriate' (adequate, effective) uses of discourse, and especially of the appropriate formulation of meanings and social functions. Theoretically, this means that in both cases we may be interested in the ways a given situation model in memory, that is, some representation of an event, is either expressed (style) or intended and changed (rhetoric) by a speaker or a discourse. The 'same', 'common' or 'underlying' meaning often presupposed in stylistic or rhetorical analyses can be found in such a situation model. It explains how we can describe 'the same things' by different 'words'.

2. Style and Rhetoric of News Discourse

Stylistic and rhetorical structures of news in the press are both heavily constrained by the communicative and social functions of news.[5] First, news in the press is written, printed discourse. Second, it is public discourse. Third, it is intended to be speaker-neutral and institutional. Many news articles are not signed and even when the writer is identified, he or she speaks as an instititutional member and with an institutional voice. It is not so much an individual person, but 'the newspaper' that says something, even if personal points of view, opinions or experiences may sometimes transpire through news reports as well. Fourth, news is primarily intended to inform, that is, has the function to update the situation models of the readers, even when secondary functions may also be playing a role (amusement, persuasion). Fifth, news discourse is referentially constrained to specific states of affairs or events, such as national and international political, economic, social and cultural happenings and participants, mostly the more 'interesting' or 'important' ones --relative to assumedly large sets of readers. Everyday, private and uninteresting events, thus, are not primary topics for newspaper news. Newspapers may of course vary substantially in the realization of these five basic constraints, and this variation is one of the sources for what we informally called the 'style' of a newspaper, taken as the sum of its characteristic structures.

If we look however at the surface structure style of news discourse, we find that it should appropriately signal the various contextual and communicative positions of these media messages we have enumerated. Institutional, written, informative, public discourse about events of general interest is generally of a 'formal' kind, and therefore uses 'formal style'. Such a style is effectuated by specific lexical registers and specific syntax. These lexical registers may be influenced by those of the institutional sources that provide the information that underlies the news: national and international politics and its organizations, social institutions or cultural organizations. In the social framework, this may mean that the news will speak about the 'unemployed' rather than about people that 'have no job', or about 'tensions on the currency market' rather than about 'we can buy less for our money'. In this way, institutional definitions of the political, social and cultural situation are framed in an institutional register of terms that may be adopted by the press. Also, news items use nominalizations instead of verbs, long complex sentences instead of brief, coordinated clauses and sentences, or postponed source-phrases instead of initial main clauses with verbi dicendi (for instance: 'The actual fluctuations of the dollar may increase uncertainty about the development of the interest rate, the Secretary of the Treasury declared' instead of 'The Secretary of the Treasury declared that...'). This formal-institutional style may be less marked in more personal background articles, in human interest features or in reports about 'personal experiences' related to general interest topics (such as nuclear waste or nuclear weapons, unemployment or education), although in the latter cases the different style will often be 'embedded' in the news item by quotation.

Similarly, the rhetoric of the news should be constrained by the intended functions of news discourse, that is by its primarily informative nature.[6] If persuasion is involved, this is either not a primary function of the news, or it is dissimulated by the marks of informative style and rhetoric, except in intentionally persuasive editorial comments. Yet, if not intended to change opinions, news should nevertheless be effective in the (trans-)formation of situation models in memory. If rhetorical features are used, these should primarily function as devices that enhance the credibility of the source, the journalist or the newspaper --and hence of the news discourse itself. In other words, the news rhetoric should be geared towards the 'proof' of truth and reliability. Second, it should structure our knowledge about the facts, viz. by establishing a hierarchy between what is important, relevant or interesting, and what is not, or how facts are related (for instance by cause and consequence relationships). Part of this job is performed by the formal, institutional style, as well as by global and semantic content. Description of a highly regarded reliable source implies reliability of the expressed information from that source. Topical organization in macrostructures, partly expressed and signalled by Headline and Lead, will indicate the hierarchy of relevance. And clause and sentence connections will embody the relational network that make facts intelligible. Rhetorical operations may only enhance such functions and their effects. A big fat headline may thus be taken as a form of hyperbole (possibly together with lexical hyperboles). A repetition may underline the relevance of an event. Metaphors will routinely be used to describe relevant dimensions of a situation, as we may see in the usual 'war register' employed in the account of demonstrations or social conflicts. Irony may be effective in signalling the ideological distance between the journalist or interviewer and some news participant. We saw earlier that numbers are often used to convey exactness and reliability of a report and hence to persuade the reader about the factuality of the news. These mostly semantic rhetorical figures not only operate at the level of words and sentences, but may affect the news text as a whole, such as its overall organization. Transformations of regular ordering may signal differences in relevance, as well as the extensive or brief treatment of certain topics. For instance, the conventional relevance ordering of a news item may be replaced by natural, narrative ordering in the description of concrete events or actions, which may enhance the 'suspense' value of a story by postponing the relevant results and consequences of events . Rhetoric in this sense is taken in its original, broader meaning, and involves all features of a discourse that may make it more effective, and not only the specific 'figures of speech' that used to define the 'elocution' component of a rhetorical description or strategy of communication. We may expect, then, that the specific rhetoric of news discourse favors the choice of special devices that serve best the informative function, and these will be mainly locally and globally semantic or superstructural. In this way, the journalist must make sure to convey first 'what' the facts are, and how the facts are related, and second 'how' he or she knows. News rhetoric must at least give the illusion of objectivity.

3. Style in the Gemayel-corpus

After our long theoretical introduction about style and rhetoric of discourse in general and of written news in particular, we may now try to specify some of the formulation features in the news about the assassination of Gemayel. This introduction was necessary in order to know what exactly we should be looking at. We have intuitions about style, but we also suggested that a sound descriptive framework is still lacking. The previous sections have tried to propose at least some basic notions and tools for such a description.

The news about the death of Gemayel, then , is of course stylistically in line with news about political events in general. We may expect formal lexical registers, especially those of internationally politics or those of political conflict. Yet, also murder is involved, and such an event is not restricted to the topics of news. Personal details, everyday actions, and hardly formal happenings may be dealt with. And finally, factional strife, mutual hatred, plotting and international controversies and conspiracies may require description. And although these may be the stereotypically 'interesting' stuff news events are made of, the styles of description may vary with the beliefs, opinions, and attitudes that any journalist or newspaper cannot avoid having about such events. The question then is, how exactly do the various newspapers describe this 'same' event? We have, indeed, assumed that at the basis of stylistic variation, we find the 'same' situation model. The study of the international coverage of one event, therefore, is essentially a study of style (in the broad sense). Earlier we have analyzed the variations of meaning and global organization. Now we must attend to the 'heart' of this stylistic analysis, viz. the way even the same event or action fragments are formulated, and what this may imply for the 'position' of the journalist or paper.

3.1. Lexical style

By lexical style, we mean the contextually specific use of words. We have seen that, globally speaking, news discourse about foreign political events will be rather formal, also in its selection of words. Within these constraints imposed by the type of discourse, its topic and the medium, there is of course variation in the way persons, events, actions or circumstances are verbalized. Interesting in that case are those lexical items that might be interpreted as an expression of a specific point of view, opinion or attitude about the assassination or the situation in Lebanon. Since it is impossible to make a close lexical analysis of all newspaper items of our corpus, we again must make a selection of different newspapers from various regions of the world. A practical problem in that case is of course language: an English translation from another language may not have the same precise meaning or stylistic value, so in that case we often mention the original and its specific implications. The actual words used will be underlined.

Starting again with the New York Times (15.9.), we first find the use of slain in the headlines, to denote the action of the killing of eight falangists that attended the meeting, where most other newspapers use the more common word kill. This special use implies that the event was more serious than just a killing, both in numbers involved or regarding the atrocity of the act. This additional emphasis is interesting when we compare it to the verb that denotes the declaration of Wazzan, viz. *deplored the killing*. Since Wazzan reportedly used the expression 'criminal conspiracy', the concept 'deplored' may be a form of understatement for saying 'denounced' or 'accused'. This is in line, it seems, with international lexical stereotypes used by politicians and diplomats in their reactions to events or actions they dislike , even when they 'hate' what has happened, they will tend to say that they 'deplored it. The newspaper seems to adopt this lexical strategy of mitigation, which therefore may also be qualified as a rhetorical device (understatement). Note also that the action of killing or its results may be described in different terms throughout the article. Indeed, the *New York Times* also uses the stereotypical *fatally wounded* when describing the discovery of Gemayel under the rubble. Other variations are used to denote Gemayel's political opponents. Apart from the usual word *enemy*, we find the more formal or literary expression *Christian foes*, which also implies the presence of a WAR-script for the description of the political situation.

The most interesting stylistic property in the report appearing in *Granma* is the use of *sionista* to denote Israeli authorities. The use of 'zionist' presupposes a negative attitude towards Israel, as it is shared by many countries that oppose Israel's policy towards the PLO and the Arabs. This use we only find in the Iranian newspaper *Kayhan International*, although not in the immediate news about the assassination, but as indirect quote of Iran's prime minisnister Musavi, reacting to the events in Lebanon, who declared that Gemayel was "fully dependent on imperialism and Zionism" (16.9.). The East German newspapers in this case consistently use the phrase 'Israeli agressor' (*Neues Deutschland*, 16.9.; *Tribüne*, 16.9). Russian *Isvestia*, using a TASS wire, repeatedly uses the notion 'agressor' or 'agressive' in this case, and also the similarly negative notion of 'warmonger'. These negative stylistic expressions used to denote Israel and its actions, will be dealt with separately later. Here, we limit ourselves to the assassination topic.

Also *Excelsior* (15.9.) uses a few mitigating terms. Gemayel is said to be 'identified with Israel', where elsewhere we find that he was an 'agent' or 'ally' of Israel. And it is rather an understatement when we read in that paper that Gemayel was 'impopular' with the Moslem community, instead of 'hated'.

Some of the stylistic expressions of the news can be treated as stereotypical rhetorical figures. Venezuela's *Daily Journal* (15.9.), among others, speaks about *a new wave of bloody fighting*, as a regular part of the Expectation section of the news about the killing. We find similar stereotypes when the future of Lebanon is described. Dutch *NRC-Handelsblad* (15.9.) assumed that the death 'of Gemayel (will) plunge Lebanon into an insecure future'. The word *incertitude* is even used in the headline of Moroccan *L'Opinion*. (15.9.). *France-Soir*, however, seems to be most creative in its style. Large parts of the report are evaluative, as we may see from expression like 'Lebanon is heading for adventure again', 'the news has struck most Lebanese with terror', and 'Gemayel's *baraka* (good fortune) has abandoned him'.

We have already seen that some popular newspapers, such as German Bild Zeitung, use words that emphasize the bloody nature of the assassination, such as 'torn to pieces' (zerfetzt). From such examples it might be concluded provisionally that one characteristic difference between serious 'quality' newspapers and popular mass news papers, may be their uses of mitigated stylistic forms or understatements, and of emphasis or overstatement, respectively.

The description of Gemayel

For our discussion it is of course of primary importance to analyze how the various newspapers describe or identify Bechir Gemayel. As usual, they will in that case often 'hide' behind quoted or unquoted sources or behind the declarations by special groups (for instance his friends or enemies). Few newspapers directly use words such as 'hero' on the one hand or 'killer' on the other hand, depending on their political stance. Rather, standard phrases such as 'reportedly' , 'was (generally) considered' , 'was seen as', or 'for X Gemayel was...', tend to be used. In Table 6.1. we have listed the major expressions used to describe Gemayel as a person, a political figure, his actions or plans, together with the attributed source of these qualifications. If they are given as literal quotation, we also use double quotation marks for the expressions. Quotations without sources or indirectly quoted descriptions without specific authors are followed by '(X)'. Descriptions in other languages have been approximately translated into English. Since many of Gemayel's properties can be inferred from his actions, only part of such action descriptions can be given.

Table 6.1. Stylistic descriptions of Gemayel

1. Los Angeles Times (15.9.)

Lebanon chief; president-elect; Christian leader; young leader; united his own people by brute force; dynamic leadership (Christians); military commander willing to use brutal force (Moslems); "typical Mediterrean macho" (X); student.

2. New York Times (15.9.)

President-elect; commander; enemy and an agent of Israel (Moslems); the most hated Lebanese Christian (Moslems and some Christians); having used too soft a manner (right wing elements of the Falangist Party). Background article: tough, ambitious, ruthless (X); moderate leader (Gemayel); dominant Christian figure in Lebanon; "my dear friend" (Begin). BA. (16.9.): puppet created and manipulated by Israelis (X), Bashir (as he was popularly known), reproached for his brutality (X), fighter.

3. Granma (15.9.)

President-elect; chief of military forces of the Kataeb party; principal ally of Israel (X).

4. Excelsior (Mexico) (15.9.)

President-elect; falangist leader; identified with Israel and impopular with the Moslem community; accomplice of Israel (X); "martyr of a criminal complot against Lebanon" (Sarkis); BA: prominent figure of the christian falangists; young and unexperienced.

5. El Universal (Venezuela) (15.9.)

President-elect; young mandatory; a tenacious fighter; merciless (his enemies); lawyer; commander in chief.

5. Jornal do Brasil (15.9.)

President-elect; leader of the Maronite Christians and chief of the right-wing falangist militias; sectarian leader (leftist groups); controversial military leader; popular hero (his partisans); a merciless warrior (his opponents); sectarian candidate (Moslem leaders);

6. La Prensa (Argentine) (15.9.)

President-elect; right-wing leader; a figure identified with Israel; impopular (Moslem community); the most prominent representative of the maintenance of the law; his intransigeant attitude.

(Table 6.1., Cont.)

7. The Guardian (15.9.*)

Lebanese leader; president-elect; partisan candidate (Moslem and leftist leaders); (16.9.): Gemayel was variously regarded as a popular hero and a ruthless warlord; experienced military leader; an implacable opponent of the Syrian and Palestinian military presence in Lebanon. (16.9.): an effective military leader; successful organiser; ruthless killer in the past; perhaps the most important leader.

8. Le Monde (16.9.)

"Great patriot" (Begin), "promising young leader" (Washington); president elect; war chief adored by his troups; contested and even loathed by his opponents; president of all Lebanese (Gemayel); falangist chief; he was no saint; clan chief.

9. Corriere della Sera (15.9.*)

President-elect; new chief of state; (16.9.): "instrument of imperialists and zionists" (leftists); reliable ally (Israel),"Proconsul" (Israel/CdS).

10. El Pais (15.9.)

President-elect; one of the crucial pieces to achieve a negotiated solution in the whole region (USA, Israel); falangist leader; young Lebanese politician; chief of the Lebanese Forces; "candidate of Israel" (Moslems), "chief of a clan of warriors" (his followers), "the man imposed by the Israeli enemy and elected under the protection of their guns" (his enemies); warlord; "as a man above the factions and parties" (Gemayel in his election promises).

11. Frankfurter Allgemeine (16.9.)

"Strong man" (Maronite Christians); without scruples; too closely related to the occupying Israeli forces and only getting his orders and being executor of Israeli aims (leftists, some Christians, and parts of the sunnite community).

12. Le Réveil (Lebanon)(15.9.)

President; hero; martyr; ... affable, frank and direct; energical, dynamic; man of decision and action, lucid and realist, (...)

12. Daily News (Tanzania) (16.9.)

President-elect.

13. Renmin Ribao (16.9.)

President-elect; member of Christian militia, commander, lawyer.

14. New Stateman (India)(16.9.)

President-elect; leader; was variously regarded as a popular hero and a ruthless warlord (see Guardian!); experienced military leader.

15. Indonesian Observer (16.9.)

The controversial president-elect of Lebanon; leader; (17.9.) strong president like Gemayel (many Lebanese); "Al Bash" (his men), collaborating with Israel (enemies).

16. Mainichi Shimbun (Japan)(16.9.)

Future president; belongs to the Christian right-wing Falangist party; expected to restablish order from a pro-American and pro-Israeli point of view; president of the military council of the Falangists; commander of the Christian (falangist) militias.

17. Bangkok Post (16.9.)

President-elect; the Maronite Christian; Phalangist military commander;(17.9.): a young saviour to some and a brutal warlord to others; slain leader; (16.9.): variously regarded as a popular hero and a ruthless warlord (see Guardian and New Statesman).

(NB. Newspapers marked by * do not carry the news about the death of Gemayel in the editions of the 15th of September we used).

From this selection of style variations in designations and descriptions of "Bechir", we may conclude that there is much overlap in the various characterizations. Of course, part of this homogeneity is based on the necessary identification of Gemayel as president-elect, commander of the Christian (falangist) militias, as a Maronite Christian, or simply as a leader. The other characterizations, however, are more evaluative. The stereotypical pattern in that case is as follows: for his friends (party members, etc,) he was ... (POS), but for his opponents (Moslems, other Christian factions, leftists) he was...(NEG). Most background information and obituaries stress both sides: on the one hand a ruthless or merciless militia chief, and on the other hand a strong leader who could unify Lebanon. Second, a standard political categorization is given of his ties with Israel: puppet, ally, friend or spy. Often, however, it is also mentioned that even to some of his opponents his actual role of trying to eliminate foreign forces (including Israelis) from Lebanon he had become more acceptable. Third, nearly all evaluative qualifications are somehow tied to what the groups involved think about Gemayel. This sometimes happens in quotation marks, but only occasionally. Fourth, the differences between newspapers, both in the developed and developing countries do not seem remarkable. Only Gemayel's own party newspaper (directed by his brother Amin) features highly positive descriptions (Le Réveil). Only the Indonesian Oberver carries the critical adjective 'controversial' in its lead, accompanying the routine designation 'president-elect'. On the whole, though, the overall impression of these various contributions to this portrait of Gemayel tends to be positive rather than negative. That is, it is conceded that he was 'tough' or even 'merciless', that he was responsable for much killing in the civil war, even of his own (Christian) people, but that later, before and after his election,he was the only positive and strong force that could re-unify Lebanon and establish a strong central government. This is not only the view of the Americans or the Israelis, but also the one prevalent in other Arab countries, as well as among various other political groups in Lebanon itself. No newspaper only portrays him as a killer, although Granma emphasizes this aspect more than the attempts on his life, and although Kayhan International cites sources that welcomed his death. Whereas his membership and leadership in a falangist party is mentioned, he is never explicitly called a 'fascist' --a suggestion only implicitly made in the description of his father Pierre, who reportedly was an admirer of Hitler. On the whole, then, political realism in the characterization and evaluation of Gemayel seems to dominate over a very critical assessment of his actions during the civil war. Interestingly, thus, we notice that the stylistic variation and even polarization in the person descriptions reflect in a sense the political confusion in Lebanon itself as well as the international attitudes towards the complexity of the Lebanese conflict. In this sense, the newspapers follow ,and thereby at the same time diffuse, the political and institutional 'definitions of the situation'.

3.2. Syntactic style

By syntactic style we understand the variable syntactic expression of more or less identical semantic meaning. Part of this variation may be accounted for by discourse rules of 'relative syntax'. In that case the syntactic structure of a sentence depends on (i) syntactic structures of previous sentences, (ii) on the specific meaning relations between the actual sentence and previous sentences, or on (iii) further cognitive or pragmatic constraints upon information processing and social functions of the actual sentence. For instance, so-called 'topic-comment' structures of a sentence, which may influence word order, may depend on topic-comment structures of previous sentences, upon the meaning elements in the actual sentence that require special attention or focusing, or on the presumed previous knowledge or focus of attention of the reader, given the information of the previous sentences (and general information in memory)(Givón, ed. 1979). The discourse dependent syntax of sentences is too complex to be treated here in detail, however. Also, there are of course differences for the various languages of our data.

In general, then, syntactic variation may pertain to the following surface structure characteristics of discourse:

(a) expression in one or more sentences

(b) expression in one or more clauses

(c) sentence length, in number of words

(d) sentence complexity, measured by the number of and relations between clauses

(e) word order in clauses

(f) syntactic categories used to express given meaning units.

Let us again give some examples.

The first two paragraphs of the *New York Times* item of 15.9. run as follows (we omit the dateline):

> (6.1.) President-elect Bashir Gemayel was killed Tuesday when a bomb shattered the headquarters of his Lebanese Christian Phalangist Party in east Beirut. The Government said he would be buried today.
>
> Mr. Gemayel, 34 years old, who was to have been inaugurated Sept. 23, was said to have died as he was about to address 400 of his followers at a weekly meeting. The state radio said the blast left at least 8 dead, among them other Phalangist leaders, and more than 50 wounded.

The first paragraph, which functions as the summarizing Lead of the article, is a complex sentence. It consists of a main clause and a dependent clause functioning as a temporal (and implicitly as a causal) clause. The major participant involved, Gemayel, is expressed as the subject of a passive clause. This means that the agent of the action need not be expressed, which is normal if that agent is unknown, as is the case here. The temporal clause features '*the bomb*' as a first noun phrase, thereby expressing the agent/cause of the event, and *headquarters* as a direct object of the verb 'to shatter' (rather than as a location, a functional phrase here occupied by the location of the headquarters: east Beirut). The passive style is also used in the second paragraph, so that Gemayel can again be placed in subject position, and thus may function as the topic of that sentence. The main verb, 'to say', again need not feature an agent/subject in that case, but only a dependent object clause which contains the 'content' of the declarative verb: 'X said that Gemayel...'. Relative clauses appended to the subject phrase (Gemayel) specify further information about

Gemayel. Again, a temporal clause is added to the main clause in order to specify the circumstances of his death. Strictly speaking, the main clause as such (Gemayel was said to have died) does not contain new information. This new information is specified in the relative clauses and the circumstance clause. The main clause, therefore, has a presuppositional or topical nature. The syntactic pattern we seem to find for such news discourse sentences, then, seems to be as follows:

(6.2.) $\underline{X}$ (Rel. Pred.)^{n} Pred (when/as ($\underline{X}$) Pred)

where $\underline{X}$ denotes the topical participant, expressed as subject of the main or dependent clause such that relative clauses specify further information about this participant, and a temporal (causal, circumstantial) clause specifies information about the event itself. If $\underline{X}$ is experiencer or patient of the action denoted by Pred., the clause will be in the passive mode. We see from the final sentences of the two paragraphs that another pattern can be rendered as:

(6.3.) $\underline{Y}$ Pred$_{\text{decl.}}$ ($\underline{X}$ Pred)

where $\underline{Y}$ is another participant, mostly a relevant source, acting as the agent of a declarative predicate ('say', 'declare', 'deplore', etc.), and the object clause of that predicate will have a previous topical participant as its subject (Gemayel in the first paragraph, and bomb blast in the second paragraph). Note that the main clause of the pattern given in (6.3.) may also be expressed by prepositional or adverbial phrases (e.g. 'According to Y', 'For X...', etc.), as indeed is the case in a later paragraph: To them... he was an enemy and an agent of Israel... .

Further inspection of the sentences in the New York Times item shows that only occasionally sentences are structurally simple, i.e. consist of one single clause. In other cases, at least a nominalization is used, e.g. to resume a previously described event: "The attempts on his life followed the death on June 1978 of Tony Franjieh, a son of...". A few other sentences are coordinated structures, connected by and, or but. The most stereotypical pattern, however, is the passive version of (6.3.): 'X was Pred$_{\text{decl.}}$ to Pred', which introduces many sentences about Gemayel. Also, the pseudocleft form 'It was Pred$_{\text{decl}}$ that X Pred' is used in this case.

In this syntactic description, we have on purpose used a highly simplified method of syntactic analysis. Truly theoretical analysis, e.g. in terms of a generative or functional grammar, would be too complex for practical use: we only want to account for the overall organization of news discourse sentences.

Let us now compare this syntactic structure with the one characterizing the first sentences in Granma. Instead of giving the original Spanish, we will literally translate into English:

(6.4.) Bachir Gemayel, president-elect of Lebanon and chief of the military forces of the Kataeb Party (Phalangist), died today as a consequence of the explosion of a bomb that partially destroyed the headquarters of this right-wing organization, in east Beirut.

Further 19 persons, including 3 important leaders of the Kataeb, also died and some sixty were wounded, the news agencies reported.

The structure of these sentences is rather similar to those in the New York Times. We find an initial noun-phrase, featuring topical

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Gemayel (already mentioned in the headline, and therefore topic), as a subject of the verb 'to die'. Two specifying relative clauses are appended to this subject noun-phrase, and where the *NYT* has a temporal clause, *Granma* has a causal connective and a nominalization, followed by a relative clause specifying the subject of the nominalized proposition. The second sentence follows the pattern of (6.3.), but with the interesting news-specific feature of a postposed declarative clause. This transformation is following the overall news strategy of presenting important information first. In this case, the source is routine (news agencies), so that it may be mentioned as a main clause in final position, and the important content of the declarative verb may be mentioned first. Notice also that news discourse sentences seem to contain many expanding relative clauses appended directly to their referential 'head', as in: '*X*, who Pred, and who Pred, Pred'. This structure saves space because no later independent sentences need to be formulated with the information packed into the relative clauses. Whether this structure is ideal for reader's comprehension, is however another matter, which we cannot discuss here[7]. Central embedding of (e.g. relative) clauses can however produce understanding difficulties because the subject/noun-phrase of the main clause must be kept in Short Term Memory, both for coreference with referentially identical phrases in the relative clauses, and as a subject of the main clause. Often, pattern (6.2.) and (6.3.) are combined, so that the sentence becomes really complex: one main clause (declarative), one major dependent (object) clause, and then one, two or three relative clau-

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ses, specifying the topic/subject/agent , the other participants or time, location or circumstances (again sometimes with their own relative clause). Counting the number of levels of embeddedness, such sentences may have a complexity value of 3 or even 4, a value that should still be multiplied by the number of embedded clauses at each level.(coordinated clauses, connected by *and*, *or* or *but*, for instance).

When we read the next sentence of *Granma*'s report, we see that even simple sentences may be rather complex, due to the number of optional 'circumstantial' phrases appended to the main predicate:

(6.5.) According to declarations of witnesses, the body of Gemayel was pulled from the rubble of the offices of the Kataeb, in de zone of Ashrafiyah, some six hours after the attack.

The declarative main sentence, as usual, may be reduced to an adverbial phrase and a nominalization (and a presuppositional expression of the subject of the nominalized predicate). The main sentence then expresses a compound noun-phrase ('*body of Gemayel*), again in passive voice, a source/location category (*to pull from* ....), again specified by *of* (twice), followed by a complex location, and by a complex temporal phrase. In this clausally non-complex sentence we nevertheless find eight prepositions (mainly *of*) that indicate various functional relations of its parts with the main predicate. If such prepositions express underlying (semantic) propositions, the *semantic* complexity, which ultimately determines comprehension, is hardly less than the long, complex sentence of (6.4.).

Although many types of formal complexity measures can be formulated, depending on the number and level of embeddings and their position (left, middle or right), news production and comprehension will rather follow cognitive correlates of such structures. Cutting a long discussion short, we assume hypothetically here that each predicate of a proposition (clause), may be accompanied by about seven functional participants in different roles, as a maximum. But as soon as a participant is itself modified by a proposition, this will add to the overall complexity, and the same holds for further embeddings. Thus, we have: SOURCE((Body was pulled from rubble (TIME)), that is, a proposition with two or three arguments, but such that the argument 'rubble' is receiving two embedded modifiers (of the offices, in the zone), which again are modified (of the Kataeb, in A.). In other words, the overall complexity is a function of the number of inherent arguments and optional arguments (e.g. Time), as well as of the amount of Modifiers for these arguments (and their level of 'embedding'). In syntactic terms, this structure is expressed by 5 noun phrases of the following construction: NP Prep NP in sentence (6.5.).

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To give these qualitative syntactic analyses some quantitative background, we have analysed the first five sentences in 20 newspapers, 10 from the first and 10 from the thirld world. We have counted for each paper the number of simple, coordinated or complex sentences(Table 6.2.). From these few quantitative data we may first conclude that there is a general tendency to make use of complex sentences. Only few simple or compound sentences have been found: of five sentences, both in the first world and in the third world newspapers, a mean of four have a complex structure. For each complex sentence, we also calculated the number of embedded clauses and their means. Here too, the means are similar: there is no significant difference in sentence complexity measured by the number of embedded clauses. When we consider sentence length, we find that the mean length of sentences (in number of words) for first world newspapers is somewhat lower (23.2) than for third world newspapers (26,9). Analysis of more data is necessary to apply serious statistical methods that would differentiate subtle variations, but our impression from these few results is that their are no marked differences between first and third world newspapers as to their syntactic style.

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Table 6.2. Sentence length and complexity in 20 newspapers

	Simple	Coord.	Complex	Length $\bar{x}$
1. New York Times	0	0	5(2.4)	23,0
2. L.A.Times	1	0	4(1.8)	25,2
3. Guardian	0	0	5(2.6)	25,4
4. France Soir	2	0	3(2.0)	21,2
5. Corriere della Sera	3	0	2(4.0)	19,0
6. El Pais	1	1	3(2.7)	25,4
7. Frankfurter Allg.(16)	1	0	4(1.5)	18,4
8. The Age (Australia)(16)	1	0	4(1.8)	25,2
9. Daily Telegraph	1	0	4(2.0)	21,2
10. Herald Tribune	0	0	5(3.0)	28,0
TOTAL First World	10	1	39	232
MEAN First World	1	0.1	3.9(2.38)	23.2
1. Granma	1	0	4(3.3)	28,4
2. El Universal	2	0	3(2.3)	20,4
3. Jornal do Brasil	1	0	4(2.8)	20,4
4. Kayhan International	0	2	3(3.3)	31,8
5. Le Réveil	0	0	5(1.5)	36,8
6. L'Opinion	0	2	3(2.0)	31,2
7. Daily News (Tanzania)	0	0	5(1.6)	22,6
8. Daily Nation (Kenya)	0	0	5(2.2)	26,4
9. The Statesman (16.)	1	0	4(2.5)	27,4
10. Indonesian Observer(16)	0	1	4(1.5)	24,0
TOTAL THIRD WORLD	5	5	40	269.4
MEAN THIRD WORLD	0.5	0.5	4(2.30)	26.9

NB. Numbers are based on the analysis of the first five sentences of the items (after the headlines). Besides the frequency of complex sentences, we have indicated between parentheses the mean complexity of the first five sentences calculated from their degree of complexity (number of embedded clauses).

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4. Credibility and the rhetoric of numbers

News is not usually assigned a primary persuasive function. Unlike opinion features, background articles or editorials, 'hard news' should 'just report the facts'. It should inform, rather than persuade. Although these normative statements, which are generally accepted in (mostly western) news ideologies, are not quite besides the point, the facts are somewhat less simple. Obviously, a report about an assassination is not primarily meant to convey the opinion of a journalist or newspaper. Yet, at least parts of such reports may also involve comments, expectations and evaluations, whether 'direct' ones of the journalist, or 'indirect' ones --of others, but selected by the journalist. We shall come back to these evaluations of the assassination of Gemayel later, when we also examine the editorials of the respective newspapers. For our discussion here it is relevant however to assume that if the major purported goal of news reports is to inform, this function should be accomplished effectively. The reader must be able to form the impression that he or she is reading a truthful, correct, precise and possibly complete rendering of the 'facts', without biased representation, selection or opinions. In other words, the report must be 'credible'. Unlike opinion articles, this credibility in news reports is not achieved by a variety of rhetoric features, such as metaphor, metonymia, comparison, irony, hyperbole or understatement. Indeed, we have examined dozens of individual items in our Gemayel-corpus and hardly found any rhetorical feature of some interest of these well-known types. If metaphors are used, they are conventionalized, or 'dead' ones, who have become normal components of word meanings, such as 'blood bath' or a 'chain of killings'.

Yet, there is a remarkable rhetorical feature in news reports that eminently functions in the process of enhancing the effectiveness of its information function, viz. the widespread use of numbers. Indeed, practically all news items will make use of such an 'exactness' figure. This happens typically for the following information:

(a) Practically all newspapers mention the reported fact that the estimated weight of the bomb that killed Gemayel was 200 kilos (or 440 pounds), instead of just reporting that the bomb was 'heavy'. Though this weight is specified in detail (and yet it is only an estimate based on the results of the explosion), it may be the case that most readers can hardly imagine how much exactly 200 kilos of TNT is. Indeed, it is a detail that suggests precision and hence credibility, even if the description of the effects of the explosion, or of the size of a 200 kilo bomb, would maybe provide more details for the construction of situation models by the reader.

(b) That numbers are hardly more than a suggestion of credibility, may be inferred from the number of deaths and wounded that resulted from the explosion. Papers vary widely in that respect, and even within the same report different numbers are sometimes given. Thus, the New York Times reports 8 deaths and 50 wounded, and so does Mexican Excelsior, whereas Granma has 19 deaths and 60 wounded, Jornal do Brasil first 8 deaths, and later in the same report 50 deaths, and about 50 or 60 wounded; the Daily Telegraph reports about 60 deaths and the Guardian about 50, and so on. Note that this

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is also the case when the reports are based on the same information from international press agencies! Of course, different takes of the same agency may change death estimates at different times or from different sources, but the final 'results' in the newspapers in fact are hardly reliable in that case. Yet, practically *all* newspapers report such details, instead of speaking about 'dozens' of deaths and wounded.

(c) The same holds for the *numbers of victims of Gemayel's civil war actions*, e.g. against other Christians, such as the killing of Franjieh's son Tony, family and followers (29, 32, ...?), or the 400 (or 500, or ?) "tigers" that represented the militia of Chamoun. *La Prensa* of Argentina speaks about 1200 people killed in Quarantaine, whereas *El Pais* mentions 500 victims in that same event. In other words, these numbers are very unreliable approximations, and the very fact that they are routinely given, suggests that their major function is not only informative but also rhetorical or persuasive: they suggest exactness and hence credibility.

(d) The same story for *dates*. Most news reports will mention --correctly-- when Gemayel was elected, and when he was expected to become president. This is of course relevant information, because it allows us to infer that the bomb explosion most probably was motivated by the election and intended to eliminate Gemayel before he could become president. Yet, we also find the precise dates of the previous attacks on his life, although such precise dates do *not* seem to have a precise informative function. A year indication, just as in the description of Gemayel's own actions in the civil war, might be sufficient.

(e) And finally time. Many news reports go into much detail to explain when exactly the explosion took place (16 h. 10, local time), when Gemayel was first supposed to climb out of the rubble (an hour later), and when the final news came through about when Gemayel was found dead (some 6 hours later, and news 7 hours later). These details are maybe less irrelevant than the others, because they allow a better understanding of why there were false rumors (and hence wrong reports in many newspapers) about the survival of Gemayel in the first place, and when and why the news about his death actually came so late (also in our own press). We see that in this case a typically journalistic concern, viz. 'actuality', and a newspaper constraint, viz. the deadline, may lead to a possible conflict, of which part can be detected in the time-number details that the news contains.

Notice finally that is practically never happens that a newspaper will have follow-up specifying that the precise numbers given the previous day were actually wrong. At most new numbers may be given. Even the newspapers that first reported the survival of Gemayel often do not explicitly refer back to their earlier wrong report, but simply announce or even presuppose the death of Gemayel the next day, mostly as a conditional event explaining the Israeli invasion in West-Beirut. The fact that previous 'wrong' numbers are seldom corrected also shows that indeed the newspapers are not mentioning numbers to be exact and correct, but to suggest exactness. We here find one of the prominent features of what may be called a rhetorics of credibility.

We have witnessed earlier that a similar rhetoric is at play in the mentioning of sources. Some news items have vague or precise sources included in nearly every sentence or paragraph. These sources may vary from an international press agency (or a correspondent, such as Reuter's Alan Phelps, who was a close witness), another newspaper, local radio stations (falangist, state), spokespersons for the parties involved in Lebanon, but most of the sources are only vaguely described by usual phrases like 'According to trustworthy sources', 'It is generally assumed that', 'Some found', 'reportedly', or just the use of passives. Whereas we earlier described such phrases as means for newspapers and journalists to 'hide' behind the news actors, in order to distance themselves from real facts or real declarations, or in order to avoid libelous information, we now see that this (quasi-)quotation device also has a rhetorical function: it suggests exactness and reliability. The news is not 'made up', but based on sources that are 'close' to the events, and hence more credible. What sources are more credible than others, is an important point that deserves attention elsewhere(see next chapter).

5. Conclusions

With a brief study of the style and rhetoric of some news items from our data we have finished the systematic discourse analysis of the respective levels and dimensions of the coverage about the assassination of Gemayel. On each level or dimension, special topics may be given attention, some of which will be dealt with in the next chapter. We defined style and rhetoric basically in terms of the formulation of underlying meanings or denoted events. Both style and rhetoric are important dimensions that relate text and context. Style signals the personal, social and communicative 'position' of the speaker, and makes an utterance more or less adequate relative to these elements of the context. Rhetorical structures are optional devices that may be used to enhance the effectiveness of discourse, e.g. through specific cognitive processing.

News style, also in the Gemayel corpus, must respect a number of general constraints. Newspaper news is written, public, mass mediated and about events of general interest, and much of the 'formal' style can be explained in terms of these news properties. Thus, we found that in the news about Gemayel we may encounter the use of lexical stereotypes such as *Christian foes* or *factional strife* when the situation in Lebanon is described. In some cases, as for Cuban *Granma*, the political stance of the paper also shows in the lexical designation of news actors, e.g. in the use of "zionist" to denote Israeli actors. Popular newspapers such as *Bild Zeitung* use highly concrete, dramatic words to describe the results of the bombing.

The description of Gemayel throughout the newspapers of the world follows a rather specific pattern. Faced with the ambiguous if not contradictory roles of Gemayel as a 'ruthless' militia chief, on the one hand, and as a peace-seeking president-elect on the other hand, the newspapers in general translate this ambiguity in corresponding lexical series. Yet, their strategy is to wrap their evaluative descriptions in direct or indirect quotations by news actors involved in the Lebanese events. Mostly, both 'sides' will be quoted in that case, resulting in both positive and negative descriptions. Yet, despite the use of many negative characterizations, the overall evaluation is cautiously positive, and in line with the political realism determining the evaluation of events in Lebanon and the Middle East. Phrases or clauses that nicely express the ambiguity at stake, such as the Reuter quote "Gemayel was variously regarded as a popular hero and as a ruthless warlord" are literally taken over in several newspapers. Some newspapers tend to put somewhat more emphasis on the negative lexical items, whereas others make use of typical mitigations. Indeed, 'controversial' is one the key terms that expresses the implicit negative attitude of the newspaper or the political ideology with which it is associated.

The syntactic style of the reports is rather complex. Sentences are usually more than 20 words long, and feature several embedded clauses. Main actors, such as Gemayel, tend to occupy topic positions in sentences, which often requires passivization. Embedded relative clauses or various circumstantial phrases often make sentences complex and probably not easy to understand. Again, no marked differences could be found for first and third world newspapers in this respect, although sentences in third world newspapers tend to be somewhat longer. Lexical style variations too do not seem to differentiate, as a whole, the first and third world press. If they exist, they seem to be most marked for the style of the popular press, as we saw for Bild Zeitung, for rather personal correspondent's reports as we found them in e.g. the French press, or for politically motivated special designations, as we find in some communist newspapers when Israel is denoted. But these differences cut through the first and third world division of our data.

Finally, we observed that lexical formulation seems to reflect dominant institutional analyses of the situation in Lebanon. Journalists, much like politicians, have a model of the situation, which may involve many biases and stereotypes. And the same holds for the description of that situation: the ways to characterize the events in Lebanon have become standardized and even stereotypical. Very similar lexical words are found in many different newspapers from different countries and regions.

We did not find many interesting rhetorical structures in our data. Indeed, our assumption that most news does not explicitly have persuasive intentions seems to be confirmed when the lack of rhetorical ploys is involved. Yet, due to its primarily informative function, news should be 'effective' in different ways: it should suggest that it is truthful, reliable and accurate. Rhetorically, such a goal can be accomplished by the frequent use of numbers (weight of bomb, numbers of victims, etc.). Since such numbers are seldom correct and seldom corrected, they may indeed be seen as rhetorical devices that should suggest exactness and hence factuality. Similar goals may be found in the frequent use of sources, both specific and unknown or vague ones, in order to quote 'direct' descriptions and evaluations of the events and hence to suggest the use of 'first hand evidence' about the truth. In the previous chapter we had already shown that all discourse and therefore also news discourse is necessarily (inter-)subjective. In our analysis of style and rhetoric we have found that also the very formulation and description of news events is a function of underlying attitudes, partial or stereotypical models and communicative (media) goals. Truth, indeed, is a social construction, also for the media.

Chapter Seven

OTHER TOPICS

1. Relevance structures

1.1. The notion of 'relevance'

In the previous chapters we have systematically analyzed the respective discourse levels of news about the assassination of president-elect Gemayel of Lebanon. We started with the global or overall structures of themes and schemas, and via an analysis of local meanings we ended up with a study of the stylistic and rhetorical surface of news. This level-specific approach is systematic, but it also has disadvantages. Many properties of news are not analyzable at one specific level, but cut through various levels. For instance, if we want to know what kind of descriptions the newspapers give about Gemayel as a person and politician, we are dealing with (i) specific themes of the news (such as his actions during the civil war, or the events that characterized his election), (ii) special schematic categories, such as History or Background, (iii) local semantic details about what exactly is said of Gemayel, and how this meaning is related to the 'underlying' facts', and (iv) how, i.e. in what terms, such descriptions are given. Similar remarks hold for other important topics in a study of international news coverage. For instance, we may specifically want to know if and how the information from the transnational press agencies is used.

Also, dimensions of the 'presentation' of news, such as lay-out, position in the paper, or the use of photographs may need separate attention, and only part of these dimensions can be characterized in terms of 'surface structures'. Some of these cross--level issues will be dealt with in this chapter.

In this section, we isolate one of these cross-level issues, viz. the ways news organises and signals relevance. This notion is not strictly technical and therefore cannot be defined unambiguously. In different disciplines it is used in different ways[1]. Our perspective here is that of a cognitively inspired discourse analysis: relevance says something about the relations between text and the language user. Thus, if a specific word meaning or stylistic choice is important or interesting for a reader, such structures are relevant for the reader. One of the most conspicuous features of news discourse is the systematic organization of such relevancies: the news signals explicitly what is (more) relevant and what is not or less relevant for the reader. Headlines are an example in case. They express what, according to the journalist/newspaper, is the most important topic of the news, and they do so in a conspicuous way: headlines are printed first and 'on top', separately, and in larger type. These typographical features help signal the expression of thematic relevance, and thereby may strategically be used by the reader to construct or reconstruct what is important or decide what is interesting-for-him/her.

Not only the Headline , but also the Lead, the order of topics, the 'size' of topics in numbers of words or lines, the typographical dimension (size or type of letters used), may all be used to define or to express these relevancies. This may even be the case at the local level of style and sentence organization: important notions or important participants may be placed in first position in sentences. Rhetorical figures may be used to focus on events that are important: the systematic use of the information that the bomb that killed Gemayel weighed 200 kilos may be taken as a typical news strategy to convey both that the news is precise and hence trustworthy, and the fact that the bomb was huge, and hence the event 'serious'.

Thus, by relevance structures in a text, we denote all structural properties --at different levels -- of the text that can be interpreted as signals of importance or prominence of news events and their elements for the reader. It follows that relevance structures are not homogeneous, such as syntactic structures. On the contrary, relevance structures cut through the different levels of typography, ordering, schematic and thematic structures, local semantics or rhetoric. Cognitively speaking, relevance structures are textual cues that a reader strategically uses to decide what in the news text is more or less important information. Of course, this is still ambiguous: the importance may be importance-for-the-journalist or importance-for-the reader. Indeed, a reader may differentiate between the two: He/she may recognize what according to the newspaper seems important and may or may not adopt these relevancies himself/herself. Yet, the reader may also impose a personal or group specific relevance structure on the information conveyed by the text, depending on own knowledge, beliefs, opinions, norms, goals or ideology.

We see from this formulation that another ambiguity is involved: we speak about 'relevance structures of information' assigned to the news (or news discourse) by the reader. In that case, indeed, we are talking about some form of organization in the memory structures (text base or situation model, or both) of the reader. Above, however, we were dealing with relevance structures in the text, and we thereby mean properties of the text that do or can signal what is relevant and what is less so. Below, we will only be concerned with these textual relevance signals or indicators, but it is understood that they have these functions only relative to the relevance assignment process of the reader. This process results in a specific relevance structure in the memory representation of the news events and/or of the news discourse . We also assume that this cognitive relevance may be represented in terms of hierarchical networks, for instance in such a way that what is represented 'high' in the tree is also more relevant. In this way, a thematic (macro-)organization of meaning may display its own relevance: important topics are placed high in the macrostructure. Indeed, probably the largest share in the complex of relevancies is taken up by this thematic organization of the news. That is, most relevance signals (such as the Headline and Lead) will be used to strategically organize the thematic structure of the news text, and from that readers may again infer what is important information in a situation described by the news (i.e. what is important 'to remember'). But thematic or macrostructural organization of a text is not identical with its relevance structure: each reader may assign own thematic hierarchies to a text, despite relevance signals suggesting another macrostructure. Also, a reader may pay special attention to details: these may be relevant for him/her even when they are not specifically signalled as such. In the news about Gemayel, for instance, specific readers may pay special attention to the detail that Gemayel's father, Pierre, was an admirer of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. Strictly speaking, this is but a detail about the historical background of Gemayel, and no newspaper underscores this information with special relevance signals (such as headline or lead information, headings, or a detailed analysis of this historical situation). Yet, for a politically interested reader this detail may become highly relevant to politically 'place' Gemayel and his Falangist movement. Indeed, in a memory representation of the assassination, such a reader may have a high level modifier 'fascist' accompanying the macro-participant. From this example we may conclude again that the actual cognitive process of relevance assignment is very much dependent on the previous beliefs, norms, goals or ideologies of the reader.

From this brief analysis of the notion of relevance it may have become clear that it is a complex and ambiguous notion. When applied to text structures it denotes the ways the text organizes, expresses, signals or monitors how and what information is important or relevant. In most cases this means at the same time relevance relative to the criteria, evaluations or norms of the jounalist or newspaper. Finally and most importantly, relevance appears to be relative to the reader. It is an interpretative notion, based on the assignment of relevance to some item of information by the reader on the basis of both textual signals and personal knowledge, models, beliefs, attitudes, norms, values or ideologies.

1. 2. An example: Jornal do Brasil

To illustrate our theoretical approach, let us examine a concrete example, viz. the report that appeared in Jornal do Brasil on Sept. 15. This report consists of two parts, the first on the front page, and the second part in a broad left-hand column on the international page (p. 13). The headlines for these two parts are, respectively,

(1) (a) ATENTADO A DINAMITE MATA NOVO PRESIDENTE DO LÍBANO

(b) BOMBA DE 200 KG MATA PRESIDENTE DO LÍBANO

(Dynamite attack kills new president of Lebanon; Bomb of 200 kilos kills president of Lebanon). Interesting for these two headlines is the prominent 'Agent' role of the bomb/dynamite and the use of the predicate 'to kill'. Other newspapers often simply use 'to die', or use 'to kill' without mentioning a bomb or dynamite in the headlines.

The Lead opens with the major actor 'President-elect of Lebanon, Bashir Gemayel' as topic and subject of the predicate 'to die'. This first lead-sentence summarizes all important aspects of the events: Gemayel died, this happened by a 200 kilo bomb, in the headquarters of the Falangist Party, in East Beirut. Also, Gemayel is identified as being 34 years old, Christian Maronite Leader, and chief of the rightist falangist militias. In other newspapers this 'identification' of Gemayel is usually given later in the report, e.g. as part of the personal and historical background description of Gemayel.

The position on top of the front page itself suggests that the event is considered to be of (international) importance, because such other international news usually appears on the international page(s).

The topics of the rest of the report then appear in the following order:in the respective sentences:

(1) Responsability for the attack (Main Event) Agents/Cause)

(2) Destruction of the building; reunion with followers (Main Event: Results, Circumstances).

(3) Dead and wounded (Main Event: Results)

(4) Long time buried by rubble before found (Main Event: Component, Result)

(5) Election and criticism from Moslems (Context: Previous Events and Possible Reasons/Causes of assassination)

(6) Accused of being helped by Israel (Context: Reasons).

(7) Considered hero by friends and ruthless warlord by opponents (Background)

Known in civil war (History)

(8) Unified christian militias by force (History)

We see that the ordering of sentences in the front page article first gives the major elements of the Main Event itself (Agent? Results? How?) and then the relevant context (election) and some information about the historical background of Gemayel.

The inside page, under the headline mentioned above, first repeats the Lead of the frontpage, with slight stylistic changes: the name of Gemayel is mentioned after his identification as christian leader and falangist chief here, and Beirut East is identified in addition as the 'christian section'. Then, the topics are as follows:

(1) Responsability (Main Event)

(2) Date of presidency (Context)

Party Reunion (Circumstances)

(3) First falangist sources reported survival (Main Event: Result)

Bomb destroyed 3 floors of building (Main Event)

(4) Hospital, light injuries, confusion (Main Event)

(5) Later, death confirmed

Subheading: REQUEST FOR HELP

(6) Search for G. after explosion at 16 hrs. (Main Event)

(7) Deaths and wounded (Reuter)(Main Event)

(8) G's hand was seen moving requesting for help (Main Event)

(9) They had to remove a bodyguard first to get to him (Main Event)

(10) Brought to hospital with light leg injuries (Main Event)

(11) G. said "I am well..." (Main Event)

Third attack against G. Other attacks. (History)

(12) Sources also said he left hospital (Main Event)

(13) Confusion: no film of scene on TV (Main Event/Consequences)

(14) Falangist radio off the air (Main Event/ Consequances)

(15) Later government announced his death (Main Event/Consequences)

(16) Many enemies since the civil war (History)

(17) Violent opposition against his election (Context)

(18) Accused of having killed son of Franjieh (History)

(19) Falangist received support from Israel (History/Context)

(20) Explosion after declaration of Wazzan about East Beirut (Context)

(21) (Reuter/Philps:) Israelis helped with the rescue operation (Main Event)

(22) Falangist militias surrounded the area and shot in the air (Main Event)

(23) Election and succession of Sarkis (Context)

(24) Moslems and leftists opposed his election (Context)

They fought against the Christian militias during the civil war (History)

They maintained he was a partisan president (Context)

(25)Some of them later accepted G. after his promises...(Context)

(26)Reunion between Salam and G. (Context)

Salam, Moslem, principal negotiator about PLO departure (History)

(27)Others remained opposed to the election (Context)

(28)There were other important falangist leaders in the reunion (Main Event)

(29)Location of Ashrafieh (Main Event)

(30)(AFP:) Consternation in Begin Cabinet (Consequence/Verbal Reaction)

Brazil: telegramme of president to Lebanese parliament (Verbal Reaction)

(31)Declaration of president of Israeli parliament (Consequence/Reaction)

This report is followed by an article about the negotations between Morris Draper and Israel, which as it were plays the role of further Context for the Gemayel news. Indeed, other newspapers briefly integrate that information into the story about the death of Gemayel, mostly at the end.

The ordering of topics again follows the pattern we have found before: first a specification of the Main Event topic, such as Agents, Circumstances of the explosion, the rumors about the survival, and then the announcement of his death. Note though that this order seems to recycle: after the first mention of the rumor, sentence(5) is about the confirmation of his death, but then again we get more details of the rumor. After focusing on these main events, the story turns to possible reasons or causes (or agents) of the assassination and therefore brings first historical and contextual information about his opponents or enemies. Also this information is repeated in various forms, and may be interspersed with further details about the explosion and its consequences. As usual, the end of the article brings Verbal Reactions by politicians, first the directly involved (Israel), then also by those relevant for the country of the newspaper (indeed the president of Brazil).

At a somewhat higher level of abstraction we thus find the following ordering of topics in the text:

1. GEMAYEL KILLED IN BOMB ATTACK (Main Event)
2. RESULTS OF EXPLOSION (Main Event)
3. RESCUE ACTIONS (Consequences)
4. RUMOR OF SURVIVAL (Main Event)
5. MANY ENEMIES SINCE CIVIL WAR (History)
6. OPPOSITION DURING HIS ELECTION (Context)
7. DECLARATIONS BY IMPORTANT LEADERS (Verbal Context)

This global order is consistent with the topical and schematic structures we have examined in Chapters 3 and 4. Historical information often precedes context information, probably because this history explains why Moslems and Leftists opposed Gemayel during the election.

As may be expected, Jornal do Brasil's report signals main relevance for the bomb attack events, both by the headline and the order and schematic organization of topics. Yet, at the same time, the front page article also prominently signals information about the responsability for the attack (first sentence), as well as the objections and accusations of Moslem groups against Gemayel, a topic which usually is assigned a lower rank order in the relevance structure. The inside page article confirms this relevance distribution: half of the sentences are about the details of the bomb explosion and its immediate consequences, whereas most other sentences are about the political conflict between Gemayel and the other groups involved,or about the election. The importance of this political conflict is further underscored with stylistic means, such as the choice of words like 'serious rivalry' or 'firmly opposed'. Overall, though, it is the detailed story of the bomb attack which receives the main attention. Political background analysis, and especially speculations about possible consequences, have secondary relevance in this report. Indeed, most of the report is based on Reuter's wires, to which we will turn in more detail below.

At the level of sentential syntax, we finally observe that Gemayel is often mentioned in first, topical position of main clauses, sometimes only routinely embedded in declarative clauses mentioning a source. Next, especially 'Moslem leaders' occur in sentential topic positions in the last part of the article. Again, the basic conflict represented in the two major topics, seems to be signalled here in terms of their main actors, occupying 'prominent' syntactic positions in the sentences of the report. Even the text accompanying the large portrait of Gemayel explicitly mentions that Gemayel had many enemies and that Moslems criticized his election.

From this arbitrary example we conclude that a news report may 'organize' the relevance accorded to certain aspects of information in many ways: topical hierarchy, schematic superstructure, ordering of propositions, headline and lead, frontpage treatment, amount of information about each theme, as well as style and syntax.

2. Photographs

A crucial visual dimension of news are the photographs that accompany the text.[8] In our case too, the news about the assassination of Bechir Gemayel included a large number of photos. Since the violent death of an important political person is involved, we may expect, first of all, portraits --in a variety of scenes or contexts, as well as photos of the scene of the explosion. This is indeed the case. And the same holds for the pictures that accompany the news, on the same or the next day, about the invasion of West-Beirut by the Israeli army. Borsje (1983) examined these photographs and obtained the following results. From a large part of the (then) available newspapers he studied 441 photos , of which 181 different ones. The Lebanese Falangist Party newspaper Le Réveil, but also Israeli Ma'ariv, carry the bulk of this amount. Without these newspapers, we have only 32 different photographs, reproduced 289 times. About a quarter of all picture uses are portraits of Gemayel. AP and UPI are the agencies that have supplied most pictures, both of the bomb-attack scene, and of the invasion.

Gemayel's portrait photos are predominantly of a 'positive' nature. They show the president-elect in happy, laughing or victorious poses, often accompanied by his enthusiastic followers, who literally carry him 'on their hands' (many pictures date from the day his was elected president).

A single AP-picture is used many times to represent the scene of the explosion. This pictures gives an impression of the ruins of the Falangist Party headquarters, but also of the confusion of people, cars and ambulances on the spot. It aptly connotates the initial confusion after the bomb attack. Three other pictures, two from AP and one from UPI, show the burial of Gemayel: the coffin in the middle of a large crowd (estimated 5000 by one picture text). As for the portrait photographs in which Gemayel is victoriously carried arround on the shoulders of his followers, these pictures of the burial events suggest the vast support Gemayel had, and seem to symbolize that he was 'a man of his people', both in his victory and in his death. And both in the portraits of Gemayel during his victory and in those of the burial, hands are raised 'upwards' , as if to signal actual support for the victorious or dead leader, in the first ones as a symbol of joy, and in the ones as a symbol of grief. Further semiotic analysis should and could be made of these pictures (we will not analyze the pictures about the Israeli invasion at all), but such an analysis is outside the scope of our study. It would require extensive theoretical treatment of the structures, meanings, connotations, and functions of photographs.[3]

If we look at the regional distribution of photographs, we find that both Asia and Africa use very few pictures: mostly head portraits only. Of the 20 most used pictures, we find that Western Europe and Latin-America use most, distributed evenly. North America carries a few pictures of Gemayel and of his burial, but very few pictures of the Israeli invasion. The vast majority of non-standard pictures appears in the Middle-East, notably in *Le Réveil* and *Ma'ariv*.

Maybe the fact that we have only examined a limited number of newspapers from Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia is also a factor that will account for the low frequencies of photographs found in the newspapers of those regions. Yet, it is also striking that the South Asian (and much less the East Asian), as well as the North American newspapers, which had access to news agency pictures, seem to make little use of them. The African newspapers and those of South Asia practically only use head portraits (most frequent also elsewhere). Several explanations may be given for these facts. First, only the bigger newspapers will have large documentation facilities. Others must rely on the wire services of the international agencies. Second, there are technical limitations to the reception and reproduction of news photographs, and these will of course not be equally distributed for the newspapers in the various countries. Third, and most interestingly, however, there may be different cultural and media traditions --also across different regions and across different newspapers within one region or country: some will prefer to publish a photograph with the news, and others (most notably a newspaper like Le Monde) will merely bring text. Indeed, frequency and size of spectacular photos is usually considered to be one of the hallmarks of the popular press. On this point too, further analysis is needed.

3. Assassination and Invasion: An Analysis of their Relation

One of the more interesting features of local coherence in our data may be found in the way the newspapers deal with the relation between the assassination of Gemayel and the invasion by Israel of West-Beirut. This relation may simply be temporal: B occurred after A; or it may be conditional/causal: B occurred because of A. Third, the causal relation may be used, e.g. by Israel, as an explanation and as a justification: B was done because of (the possibly negative consequences of) A. How do the newspapers handle these connections?

De Jong (1983) examined 30 newspapers, 15 from third world countries and 15 from western countries and analyzed how they accounted for the relationships between the assassination and the invasion. Of these thirty newspapers, 19 brought items that covered both events. This was especially the case in Western newspapers (12 of 19), which could be interpreted as a tendency to show that the two events are indeed related. This tendency also appears in the Headlines: four newspapers of western countries mention both events in the Headline, whereas only 2 papers from third world countries do so. Three newspapers of each group mention only Gemayel's death in the headline, and four western papers and only one third world newspaper mention the invasion in such a prominent position. This suggests that perhaps western newspapers assign more importance to the invasion, or in general tend to assign more importance to the 'latest' event. The news value of actuality may be used to explain this latter reason for the difference in assigned importance. This pattern is repeated in the Lead section of the newspapers. Here, third world newspapers more often only mention Gemayel's death.

De Jong also studied the explicit connections established by the newspapers between the two events. Both in Western and third World papers this connection is established explicitly in various ways: A is a pretext of B, A causes B, B follows A, etc. It was found that in about half of the connections, both groups of newspapers use temporal connections, rather than explicit causal connections. We have observed this before: newspapers tend to favor 'neutral' temporal connections between events above the more 'interpretive' assignment of a causal relationship. In this delicate case, for instance, the assumption of a causal relationship may be interpreted as a tacit acceptation of the Israeli explanation or as justification of the invasion. A critical stance towards this justification may be taken by qualifying it as a 'pretext', which happens in 5 western and 9 third world newspapers. Although these numbers are too small to draw firm conclusions, there seems to be a tendency in third world countries to represent the events from a more critical position towards Israel. This is of course not surprising, given the widespread political position of developing countries with respect to Israel. The press in these countries seems to express at least some of the official policies in the reporting about the events in Lebanon.

Yet, also the Israeli justification as such may be rendered in various ways. On the whole the newspapers from both groups do this by various means of 'distancing', mostly by using quotation marks. Only a couple of western newspapers adopt the justification without such distancing devices. Yet, there is a more subtle way of showing some form of 'understanding' of the Israeli position, viz. when a newspaper reports (or not) the events the Israeli's predicted would happen (if they would not intervene). Thus, there is a tendency in the western newspapers to pay more attention to events that confirm the expectations of the Israeli's, whereas third world newspapers pay less attention to events that would support the Israeli justification. They on the contrary tend to focus on the negative consequences of the invasion, viz. fights between the Israeli army and Lebanese militias. Western newspapers also tend to mention the Israeli justification more often in the Headline or the Lead, although on the whole the Israeli position is assigned a lower prominence in the newspapers in both groups.

Although the various analyses hardly yield clear and significant differences between first and third world papers (also because the number of cases is too low), De Jong concludes that an overall evaluation of the news items (which is of course rather subjective) suggests that more western newspapers tend to be positive about Israel, and more third world newspapers tend to be negative about Israel's actions. Note also that most western reports come from own correspondents, whereas most items in third world countries are taken from international press agencies. This would suggest that the agencies are somewhat more neutral in describing the relation between the assassination and the invasion. In this case, thus, western agencies not necessarily adopt the western pro-Israel position in their wires (as they are used in the press).

4. Verbal reactions and quotations

An important functional category in news discourse is 'Verbal Reactions'. In this category we find the reactions of politicians or other important news persons about the news events. These may be politicians directly involved in the news events themselves, or those whose (international) role or position entitles them to give reactions or comments about the events. In the news about Gemayel, thus, we may find the reactions of Wazzan or Sarkis in Lebanon itself, but also of (people in) Israel, the USA or the country of the newspaper.

Verbal reactions have several functions. First, they are themselves news: the declarations or opinions of important politicians about political events are an important dimension of reporting about political events. Politics in a sense is what politicians do and say. Second, verbal reactions provide different perspectives, points of view and opinions about the events. In this way, the newspaper can provide evaluations, comments or expectations without indulging in biased reporting. The bias, if any, is then attributable to others, although of course there may be bias in whom is selected for quotation and what is selected from quotations.

Verbal reactions may be formulated in many different forms.[4] Two basic forms are on the one hand literal quotation, marked by (single or double) quotation marks, and on the other hand a paraphrase of what was (assumed to be) said by some news person. A paraphrase of course need not express exactly the same words as those used by the speaker, and may therefore be subject to possible bias.

Yet, there are several intermediate forms. We may have an indirect form of quotation, introduced by a verbum dicendi, followed by a depending object clause, often introduced by *that* in English, as in

(7.1.) Wazzan declared that...

where the content of the that-clause is more or less identical with the meaning of the words used by Wazzan. Since Wazzan will have spoken in Arabic, there must *at least* be a translation, even when the journalist makes use of literal quotation. Changes in indirect discourse forms may pertain to lexical changes, sometimes involving slight differences in evaluation, changes of perspective or point of view, and especially various forms of deletion: usually only one or two key sentences of a declaration will be quoted.

Speakers are not always explicitly identified. We have seen earlier that many of the opinions about Gemayel are vaguely attributed to 'his followers' or to 'his opponents', Also, the passive will be used so that no speaker need to be mentioned, as in:

(7.2.) Gemayel was said to...

Van der Bijl (1983) has made an analysis of all quotations and verbal reactions in ten newspapers reporting about the assassination of Gemayel and the invasion of West-Beirut by the Israelis. He compared five newspapers (*Los Angeles Times*, *Le Monde*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, *El País* and *De Volkskrant*) from developed countries, and five from developing countries (*Excelsior*, *l'Opinion*, *Daily Graphic*, *The Statesman*, and *the Indonesian Times*).

A distinction was made between different kind of sources of verbal reactions: Persons, Functions, Groups, Media and Unknown. Also Countries can be referred to as sources, but in that case it is mostly the government which is meant. For the ten newspapers it was first found that in general quotation of persons and then of groups or unknown is most frequent (for instance of 43 sources in the western newspapers, 18 are persons, 8 are groups and 9 are unknown). For newspapers from the third world these distributions are similar, although the amount of quotation is half that of those in western country newspapers (22). What is a specific source (by function) in one newspaper, may be an unknown source in another. Van der Bijl found for example that the *Los Angeles Times* refers to 'one Palestinian' when mentioning an opinion about the results of the assassination, where *El Pais* attributes the same opinion to 'a lebanese university professor'. In general, sources will be identified by name + function (on first mention) or just name (and sometimes) function on later mentions in the same article. Well-known politicians (Reagan, Begin) need not be identified by their functions. It was also found that of 49 identified sources, 10 only occurred in 3rd world newspapers, and 28 only in first world newspapers (11 in both). For instance, premier Begin of Israel is not quoted in third world newspapers, whereas he is one of the most quoted persons in western newspapers. The same holds for Reagan, who is quoted by three western newspapers and no third world newspaper. And in general, western newspapers make more use of American and Israeli sources, which is much less the case for third world newspapers: more than 50% of all quotation or paraphrase words in western newspapers are based on Israeli or American sources, which is only the case for about 15% of the words used in third world newspapers for these sources. On the other hand, the declaration of Arafat (being in Rome at the moment) receives twice as much attention in third world newspapers; and the same holds for the sources Syria and Iran. This different attention for different sources also shows in the headlines: Arafat (and Syria/Iran) is more often mentioned in the headlines of third world newspapers.

When we look at the kind of speech acts, or more general 'verbal act' types (such as to welcome, regret, announce, etc.) in the various papers, we expectedly often find the speech acts of condemning or deploring. In third world newspapers however we more often (a fifth of all quotations/paraphrases) find accusations than in western newspapers (a tenth). This is mainly due to the special attention accorded to the accusations made by Arafat against Israel. Note also that the verbal act of 'praise' for Gemayel is referred to eight times in western newspapers, and only once in third world newspapers.

Van der Bijl concludes on the basis of these and other results (stylistic analyses of quotation differences), that on certain points there seem to be systematic differences between first and third world country newspapers in their quotation patterns, viz. those mentioned above, but also notable similarities. As might be expected, third world newspapers will tend to give the floor more often to third worlds spokespersons, and less to those persons or countries that are considered to be opposed to third world interests (such as Reagan or Begin).

5. A brief comparison between Reuter's dispatches and newspaper items

For one of the international news agencies, Reuter's of London, we have briefly examined those newspaper items that (only) make use of the services of that agency in their reporting of the initial event of the bomb explosion and the killing of Gemayel. Other newspapers use either several sources, do not mention their agency sources or use agency material that we didn't have at our disposal(see section 7 below).

The newspapers that make use of Reuter are for instance the following (data from Boer, 1983; see Tables 7.1 and 7.2. below):

(1) International Herald Tribune

(2) The Guardian

(3) The Daily Telegraph

(4) The Statesman

(5) The Bangkok Post

(6) New Straits Times

(7) Dawn

(8) Bangladesh Observer

(9) The Daily Journal

(10) The Bangkok Post

(11) The Daily Gleaner

(12) Algemeen Dagblad

On the following pages we give some fragments of the comparisons for some of these papers (data are from Boer, 1983). Between the two columns of text, we indicate briefly which type of transformation is involved, e.g. Change of Style (CS), Change of Style/Content (CSC), Deletion (D), Addition (A), or Substitution (T). Changed phrases are underlined.

	International Herald Tribune (15.9.82)	Change	Reuter's dispatches (18:40/51/55-14.9.)
	GEMAYEL SURVIVES BOMB IN BEIRUT		EXPLOSION 1, 2, 3.
1/2	President-elect Bashir Gemayel of Lebanon	CS	Lebanese president-elect B.G.
4	tuesday	CS	today
4/5	when an explosion badly damaged	D	when he was dug out from rubble after an explosion badly damaged
6/7	rightist Phalangist Party	CSC	right-wing Falangist Party
10	on the ground floor	CS	in the ground floor
11/12	as Mr. Gemayel met with officials	CS/D	as the president-elect was holding a regular Tuesday meeting with officials
(...)			
16/20	a nearby hospital	D	the nearby Hotel Dieu Hospital
(...)			
32f	Ø	D	they said his father Pierre, who founded the Falangists in 1936, had hurried to the hospital with other party officials. Reuter correspondent Alan Philphs reported from the scene that the bombs blew out the interior of the modern concrete party headquarters
33f	medics from the Israeli army, which is still surrounding Beirut after a three-month assault on Palestinian guerrillas	CSC	three month campaign against
68f	Ø	D	former prime minister Saeb Salam, a veteran Moslem politician who played an important role in the tortuous negotiations leading to the evacuation of the Palestinian guerrillas from Beirut, held a day of talks with Mr. Gemayel last week. But others have remained opposed. When a delegation from mainly-Moslem West Beirut set off for East-Beirut on Sunday to congratulate Mr. Gemayel, gunmen fired on them.

The Guardian (15.9.82)		Reuter (17:15, 18:40, 18:51, 18:55, 19:03)
LEBANESE LEADER ESCAPES AS 50 ARE FEARED DEAD IN BOMB BLAST (Completely reordered)		
19f Doctors and ambulancemen, including some from the Israeli army still surrounding Beirut after their campaign against Palestinian fighters, joined rescue workers who were pulling dead and injured from the rubble.	CS/ D	Medics from the Israeli army, still surrounding Beirut after a three-month campaign against Palestinian guerillas, were helping in rescue work. Two bulldozers, a crane and and a fleet of ambulances including two from the Israeli army were on the scene. Rescue workers said dead and injured were still buried in the rubble.
42f (...) 400 party members and supporters had been attending the meeting including senior officials (...)	CSC	(...)meeting at the party headquarters had been a large gathering attended by senior officials (...)
55f Mr. Gemayel's election was opposed by Moslem and leftist leaders...	CS	Moslem and leftist leaders (...) opposed his election (...)
Daily Telegraph (15.9.82)		Reuter (18:40, 18:51, 18:55, 19:03)
4/5 wrecked a building	CS	badly damaged a building
34f His father Pierre... went to the hospital.	D	They said his father Pierre... had hurried to the hospital.
The Statesman (15.9.82)		Reuter (17:15, 17:17)
8/9 The building housed offices of the Christian Falangist Party	D	The building housed offices of the rightist Christian Falangist Party.
23f Ø	D	The Falangist radiostation, whose studios are close to the scene of the explosion, said some people had been injured but rescue workers were unable to give details.
New Straits Times (16.9.82)		Reuter (5:28, 5:38, 5:52)(15.9.82)
38f Ø	D	It said he would be buried at 4 PM (14.00 GMT).
Bangladesh Observer (15.9.82)		Reutor (18:40)(14.9.82)
8f Ø	D	Sources in Mr. Gemayel's right-wing Falangist Party said a 200 kg (440 pound) bomb exploded in the ground floor of the party's local headquarters as the president-elect was holding a regular Tuesday meeting with officials.

Daily Journal (16.9.82)		Reuter (0:35, 0:45, 0:50, 0:57) (15.9.82)
1/4 Bashir Gemayel, the 34-year-old militia leader elected President of Lebanon ...	T/D	Bashir Gemayel, the young President-elect of Lebanon, who was reportedly killed in a huge bomb blast yesterday...
15f Ø	D	Informed political sources in Beirut said the body of Mr. Gemayel was one of the last to be dug out of the wreckage of the bombed Falangist party headquarters in East Beirut.
18f militia... that battled Lebanese Moslems	C/D	militia... that fought an alliance of Lebanese Moslems
29f his foes... who tried to assassinato him three times --the third time, today, successfully.	A	his foes...whom he was to have governed.
74f under his direction, this loose coalition was transformed into the keystone of the Christian's political-military apparatus...	D/ CS	At first simply an instrument of coordination, under his direction the front became the keystone of the Christian camp's political-military system
79f Ø	D	willingly or by force all the smaller militias were eventually integrated into the front
105 Ø	D	he pledged to "liberate" the rest of the country
106f his hostility to the Palestinians made him an Israeli ally	D	his hostility towards the Palestinians made him a natural ally of the Israeli's

When we examine these few news items based on Reuter's dispatches, we first observe that newspapers will of course use different takes from the same story, depending predominantly on the deadline and the time difference. Indeed, early editions of British newspapers (the ones that were available to us in Amsterdam), all carried the news about the explosion and about Gemayel being wounded, but not yet had the news about his death. They primarily make use of the Reuter's dispatches that were sent in the early evening hours. The Asian newspapers have different news depending on whether they are morning or evening papers.

A second observation is that when newspapers have no own correspondent, they faithfully, mostly even literally, follow the Reuter's wires. Only sometimes, as is the case for the Guardian, the item is rewritten in a different order and composed from several dispatches. Transformations of the original Reuter news takes three basic forms: changes (mostly stylistic), additions and deletions, which we had indicated earlier with C (or CS), A and D, respectively. Slight stylistic changes have been indicated only for the International Herald Tribune in our example. They amount to using of Lebanon instead of Lebanese, or met with officials instead of was holding a meeting with officials. Most of these changes are simply minor stylistic alterations that might be seen as contributions to readability and disambiguation. Some style changes, however, have a somewhat more interesting nature, such as rightist instead of right-wing, which have somewhat different associations. Similarly, an assault on Palestinian guerrillas is not quite the same as a campaign against them, as Reuter has it.

A well-known stylistic substitution can be found in line 19f of the Guardian, which uses Palestinian fighters instead of Palestinian guerillas, the former being usually associated with a more positive attitude towards the designated group. Similarly, the Statesman deleted the adjective rightist from the Reuter's dispatch when referring to the Christian Falangist Party. These are the kind of small but significant changes newspapers may make with respect to the news from the international news agencies. But this does not always imply that an occasional change will always be motivated by intentional or unintentional ideological or political attitudes. We may assume though that when these stylistic choices become systematic, they do find their origin in underlying opinions and ideologies.

Of the deletions we have examined, one substantial fragment of the Reuter wire was omitted in the Herald Tribune (lines 32 f), viz. the information that Pierre Gemayel founded the Falangist Party in 1936 (together with other information about the scene of the events). Also, this paper omits the information about former prime minister Saeb Salam. The Bangladesh Observer omits the rather central event information about the bomb, its weight, the location and the occasion of the weekly meeting.

Most changes were found in our copy of the English language Daily Journal of Venezuela. Thus, it omitted the information that willingly of by force the smaller militias were integrated into the Falangist front. Also the explanatory use of natural in the phrase a natural ally of the Israeli's is omitted in that paper.

These few observations hardly allow for interesting generalizations.[8] Our first impression is that if news is based on dispatches from the international news agencies, they will in general follow these rather closely, depending on what takes of a story are used (and it appears that editors often use only part of the total takes about a story). Second, changes will often be minor changes of style, although sometimes more significant substitutions of potentially evaluative terms may be made, as we have seen for the substitution of *guerrilla's* by *fighters* in the *Guardian*. Third, deletions are of course the most substantial changes with respect to the original text of the dispatches. In this case, information about secondary aspects of the events may be involved, but sometimes also more significant evaluative or background information. Again, also for these few examples, we do not seem to have interesting differences between first and third world newspapers. The major difference, in general, is that larger newspapers, especially the richer ones in most Western countries, may rely on their own correspondents or Middle East specialists for follow-up stories and background features, as is the case for instance for the *Guardian*. The first news about unexpected events --especially when occurring in foreign countries and in places where no correspondents are likely to be located, will in general first come through the wires of the international news agencies. Whatever the nature of the follow-up and the background features written by editors and correspondents, these initial messages may already 'define the situation' for the readers. Obviously, further detailed discourse analysis is necessary to spell out these general conclusions.

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6. Differences between agency news and own correspondent's reports?

Most newspapers rely on the international news agencies for their foreign news. This is especially the case for spot news. Background and feature articles may, after the first agency dispatches, be written by the newspaper's own editors. Yet, large newspapers or groups of newspapers also have their own foreign correspondents. These are predominantly located in major foreign capitals, mainly in first world countries, or in some regional 'news centre'. Besides the more or less resident correspondents, newspapers may send special envoys to places where important events have occurred or are expected to occur (e.g. elections). Regions or countries that are temporarily of great news relevance may only have a temporary correspondent.[6]

In our case, the situation in the Middle-East in general, and the events in Lebanon (civil war, PLO presence and departure, occupation of South Lebanon by Israel, etc.) in particular, are regularly covered by many correspondents.[7] These may be located in Beirut, Jerusalem or Tel Aviv, Cairo, Nicosia, or Damascus. Some (big) newspapers, such as the *Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *Le Monde*, *France Soir*, and several other newspapers have regular or special correspondents in Beirut itself. *Renmin Ribao* reports from Damascus, and *Mainichi Shimbun* from Cairo.

The interesting question that suggests itself is whether agency news is different from the newspaper's own correspondents' reports? There are several a priori arguments that would support either possibility: viz. similarity or difference. If there is a more or less international consensus about the major components of a story, then probably the local correspondents of newspapers and the correspondents (bureau chiefs, stringers, etc.) of agencies would probably deliver more or less the same stories. Yet, agency news should be fit for international distribution and , ideally, should therefore want to be as 'neutral' as possible. N ewspaper correspondents in principle only have their own readers as potential clients of their stories, and may therefore write stories that are tailor-made to their own editors and readers. Specific information or angles may be focused upon in that case, or the whole events may be described from a more specific ideological or political point of view.

It is however far from easy to make a complete comparison between agency news and correspondents reports. For one thing, as is apparent for instance in the initial articles appearing in the Guardian and The Times, the first dispatches may come from the international agencies, and only the later ones from local correspondents (who may have the news via the agencies, or who may have been warned by their newspaper that agency dispatches are coming in about events in 'their own' location). Also, even news reports from correspondents, as appear in the newspaper, may be combined with news from the agencies, and therefore partially rewritten by foreign desk editors.

Now, when we compare for instance the stories that are signed by own correspondents or special envoys, and carry Beirut as their dateline, with the dispatches of for instance Reuter, the general impression is that indeed there does not appear to be much difference. The overall story topics are more or less the same: the explosion due to a heavy bomb, the death of Gemayel after initial rumors about his survival, the controversial election, some personal background and his political career, the political consequences of his death for the situation in Lebanon and the Middle East, and finally the international reactions to the events.

There are also differences however. Thus, both the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times add background material about Gemayel which we do not find in the Reuter dispatches for example. Thus, both newspapers mention the constitutional options that exist after Gemayel's death for the succession of the current president, Elias Sarkis. As for a few other passages, this information in the two major US newspapers is very similar (for which there may be various reasons: local contacts between correspondents, or access to the NYT news service by writers of the Los Angeles Times, which is published later due to time difference). Then, the LAT mentions a source ("a prominent Muslim journalist") quoted about the possible perpetrators of the assassination, not mentioned by Reuter's, and for instance the name (William Hawi) of the militia commander whom Gemayel succeeded. In general, then, local correspondents will add to the more stereotypical background news in such an occasion (such as the vita of Gemayel), in an early stage, because they have direct access to local sources, local news media, and make use of their own knowledge of the local situation. Staff writers or editors, even specialized ones, will usually have to get documentation first (which may be more complete on other points than the information available to a correspondent with limited personal or bureau files).

Whereas the US newspapers' correspondents write in a style and report events and background that are fairly similar to the Reuter story, French newspapers have a somewhat different style of reporting from their correspondents. On September 15, *Le Figaro* publishes a report from their special envoy to Beirut, bringing the news about the bomb attack, but not yet the death of Gemayel. Without mentioning sources or rumors, the report states that after having been one hour and a half under the rubble, Gemayel emerged and walked to an ambulance that carried him to the Hotel Dieu hospital "where doctors proceeded to the first examination". Then the article specifies some details about one previous attack, the location of the bomb attack, and some speculations about possible agents of the attack. The headline does not mention the attack (which is mentioned in a super-headline), but "Lebanon: towards civil war", which is of course a rather far-reaching conclusion or interpretation of the events. Unlike the other newspapers and the news agencies, this article however specifies the name of the street where the Falange Party building was located. A separate article gives a brief history of the various attacks on Gemayel.

France Soir already carries the news of the death of Gemayel in in its (evening) edition of September 15, but it is not specified whether that report comes from the 'envoyé spécial' who reports about the events in Beirut in an article of September 17th.

The article in *Libération* (15.9.82) , based on the AFP story, shows that the separate history of the attacks published in *Le Figaro* does not come from the own correspondent but has been literally taken from the AFP dispatch. This AFP story about the bomb attack gives somewhat more details than Reuter's about the scene of the explosion, and specifies more about the reaction of the Lebanese left against the election of Gemayel.

Le Monde brings a long story from its special envoy in Beirut, reporting (in *Le Monde* of September 16 --but as usual already published in Paris around luchtime of the previous day) about both the assassination of Gemayel and the invasion of West-Beirut by the Israeli army. After a summarizing sentence about the two major events, the story in *Le Monde* starts with a specification of the political reactions, both in the Middle East and elsewhere. The story about the events themselves begins in a rather literary and narrative style, much unlike the matter of fact style of the news agencies: "'A catastrophe' , All around the room, ten tense faces, ten anxious and tired looks, acquiescent without saying a word...". The rest of the story has the same literary flavor, but also provides detailed descriptions of the events and the location, as well as a provisional analysis of the political implications. *Le Monde's* correspondent in Beirut provides a background story about

Gemayel and his election, with the usual *Le Monde* vita printed in small type at the end of the story. In addition, *Le Monde* brings a special column with political analysis, a more personal assessment by one of the editors, and separate stories about the reactions in Israel, the USA and France. Together, these articles cover large part of the front page, and pages 3 and 4, with further Middle-East news on page 5. We see here in its most obvious form the difference between stereotypical agency news and the independent reporting of a reputed quality newspaper. The basic facts are similar, but the correspondents also provide (more) political analysis, background, personal impressions from the scene, and evaluations.

The Chinese party paper *Renmin Ribao* publishes on September 16 a report from its correspondent in Damascus, which summarizes both the assassination and the invasion events: declaration Wazzan, Gemayel dead due to bomb, location and time, kind of bomb, other casualties , briefly some official reactions within Lebanon, a personal history of Gemayel in one sentence, and finally the context of his election. Interestingly, *Renmin Ribao* states "There were assumptions that President Bechir Gemayel would be killed before his inauguration", without giving other details than a brief reference to Moslem groups that opposed his election. From Peking's news agency Sin Hua She the newspaper prints a brief report from Beirut itself about the essentials of the Israeli invasion.

Finally, Japanese Mainichi Shimbun carries a story from its correspondent in Cairo, starting with a sentence that specifies that Gemayel was killed by a bomb explosion and that he belonged to the right-wing Christian, Falangist party, but also that he was supposed to reestablish order in Lebanon "from a pro-American and pro-Israeli point of view". Few newspapers summarize Gemayel's position in such a clear-cut way, although most evaluations of course discuss the fact that Gemayel's election was positively received in Tel Aviv and Washington. A comparatively long paragraph then deals with the political confusion that has been caused by Gemayel's death, possibly even leading to a new civil war. Only the continuation of the story on page 7 specifies further details about the location, time and type of the bomb explosion, much like we find in other newspapers and agency reports, but here too the larger part of the text deals with the political position of Gemayel and his party. Yet, no further details are given about the scene, nor about Gemayel, such as the previous attacks against his life. In other words, a correspondent who is not him/herself on the spot will only summarize the news (as heard from local media or the international news agencies), and will merely tend to politically 'situate' the events. Yet, in its separate story of the same day about the invasion of West-Beirut, the newspaper also adds some further information obtained from the Japanese news agency Kyodo and from Reuter. The Reuter information deals with the succession of Gemayel, but we have not been able to trace the Reuter dispatch on which this information could be based.

What general conclusions may be drawn from this highly informal and partial analysis of the differences between agency news and correspondent reports? First, in many cases agencies will be quicker because they may have several people at work right on the spot (the agencies have large bureaux in Beirut), and work on a continual time schedule. Correspondents need not be located in the same town (but e.g. in Tel Aviv, Cairo or Damascus), and even if so, need not be present or maybe sleeping or working elsewhere so that they miss the essential 'fast' local media like radio and TV. This was also the case in our data: although several newspapers had correspondents on the spot, they got their first news from the agencies. Of course, essential follow-up was then given by correspondents. A second general conclusion is that own correspondents tend to provide more personal evaluations and more political background analysis. In this sense the correspondent is not always required to just describe the facts, but may also act as a first commentator, parallel to possible own editorial statements by the editor 'back home'. Third, obviously, correspondents add details about the events, persons involved, sources (witnesses, media), and the political situation, especially if they have been working and living in Beirut for some time: much of the more refined social and political background --such as the precise relationships between the various Christian and Moslem groups-- is too specific for the news agencies. Fourth, local correspondents obviously can only provide further information about local events and background, whereas the international news agencies can collect and integrate the stories about the international repercussions of the events. Of course, since these reactions also come from prominent 'news capitals' where also correspondents will be located, the newspaper may also get --indirect-- reactions from their correspondents about such reactions.

These are only a few, rather general and hardly spectacular conclusions from our brief comparison. Further and detailed analysis of newspaper correspondent reports and agency dispatches need to be made to specify these conclusions. It seems to be clear, however, that except for deeper background analysis, the international agencies can hardly be competed with when international spot news is concerned. They are usually the ones that first bring the 'hard', spot news. The local correspondent then is free, or will be asked, to provide some background, to formulate personal impressions or analysis, to interview people and in general to supply 'soft' follow-up. In the next section we will see, indeed, that about one-fifth of all articles about the events in Lebanon come from correspondents, and even this proportion only holds for first world newspapers.

7. Quantitative data about the use of agencies and other sources

In the previous sections we have concluded that when newspapers use agencies as sources they make a selection from incoming dispatches but otherwise rather closely follow the agency story. Also it was observed that in general correspondent's reports often have a similar format as that of the agencies, with the usual exception for more personal background or 'impression' stories. If indeed newspapers are so close to agency dispatches, it becomes vital to know to what extent they actually (have to) use such agency input, and to see whether there are differences at this point between first and third world newspapers[8]. Also, we should know how often reports from correspondents, other sources or stories of own editors are used to cover the events in Lebanon.

In Table 7.1. we notice first that AP and AFP are used most often as (mentioned) source for news items, closely followed by Reuter, and by UPI at some distance. The 'big four' indeed take the largest share of agency input. Compare for instance with the contributions of TASS and DPA, which are mentioned only a few times. One of the most dramatic quantitative differences of this study, and maybe one of the most significant ones, is however that third world newspapers seem to rely on agency news much more often. This is especially the case for AP and AFP, the other agencies being used more or less equally often by first and third world newspapers. It should be stressed though that these numbers pertain to mentioned sources, and from the amount of 'unknown' sources (Table 7.3.), we may conclude that probably the dependence from the agencies is even

(Ad p. 249)

Table 7.1. Frequencies of international news agency mentions as sources for news reports

	UPI	AP	REUTER	AFP	DPA	TASS	Total
First world	23	34	45	24	4	6	136
Third world	29	76	42	84	9	6	246
TOTAL	52	110	87	108	13	12	382

Table 7.2. Frequencies of mentions of international news agencies used as single source

	UPI	AP	Reuter	AFP	DPA	TASS	Total
First world	10	17	11	6	1	2	47
Third world	19	43	16	46	1	1	126
TOTAL	29	60	27	52	2	3	173

Table 7.3. Frequencies of other sources mentioned

	Corresp.	Editor	Other agencies	Unknown
First world	133 (119)	99 (45)	31 (24)	59
Third world	11 (9)	46 (19)	48 (30)	87
Total	144 (128)	145 (64)	79 (54)	146

(NB: The use of other sources as single source is indicated between parentheses. This is especially the case for Eastern European (= first world) newspapers' data for 'other agency' use: here the national news agencies are mostly used as source by the newspapers).

more substantial, especially for third world papers. The big four transnational agencies are used, together, in 231 cases for third world newspapers, and only in 126 in first world newspapers. This difference is still bigger when we consider Table 7.2., in which the agencies are mentioned as only (mentioned) sources of the news articles in first and third world countries. We see that nearly three-quarters of all mentions of these four agencies occur in third world newspapers. Especially AFP and AP function as such single sources.

That this difference between first and third world newspapers is probably not just based on a systematic difference in acknowledging one's sources, can be easily seen in Table 7.3. Here we find the most substantial quantitative difference in all our data: of 128 articles written only by correspondents , only 9 appear in third world newspapers. And similarly, twice as much items in first world newspapers are written by editors than in third world newspapers. Hence, for the third world, news from Lebanon is agency news.

The overall conclusion from these data must be clear, and confirms what we of course already knew from other studies: the third world's press is highly dependent for its news, in this case about Lebanon, from the international news agencies. Correspondents and editors only contribute a minor part to the production of international news in third world papers. We saw above that agency news is (apart from selection) rather close to actually printed news items. It follows that most of the news in third world newspapers is just a copy of what they receive from the agencies.

Here we find another important factor that explains why the news in the world in so similar. It is not only that the same consensus is used to select, interpret and write news about Lebanon, this consensus appears to be largely pre-programmed by the nature of the product bought and used from the international agencies. We have seen that for first news items, this also holds for western newspapers. The crucial difference, however, is that larger western newspapers can use further background reports from their own correspondents, as well as more detailed analyses from their own editors and staff writers. This also explains why, overall, background news is more substantial and more diverse in the newspapers of the first world.

A structural analysis of the news in the world's press can only specify what similarities and differences can be detected between newspapers or regions. A few simple quantitative data now also suggests, quite literally, what the 'source' of these structural facts might be. Apart from an implicit consensus about the routines and strategies of international news production, it now appears that this consensus is not an apriori or 'necessary' factor. Rather, it is the preferred format of news reporting as it has gained predominance in western news agencies and newspapers, which has also found widespread acceptance in other regions of the world. We have seen that most third world newspapers simply have no alternative in the actual situation, at least for a significant part of their international news. It is this lack of viable alternatives which has been challenged by many third world countries and newspapers.

8. The Editorials

Whether international news is so similar due to the predominance of the international press agencies or because of the widespread consensus about the rules of journalism (or both), is a problem that is mainly of interest for the proper news reports. Newspapers are able to define their own perception, formulate their own evaluation and practice their own style especially in their editorials. Therefore, we have examined a number of such editorials, both from first and from third world newspapers.

Such an analysis first requires an approximate definition. Obviously, we take editorials as those articles in the newspapers that explicitly formulate the point of view of newspapers or their editors about a current news event or situation. They are often identifiable by special printing type and a fixed location in the newspaper. Most of them are not signed. They are routinely written by one of the relevant editors, such as the foreign desk editor or the editor-in-chief. Such articles are usually rather brief: most of them occupy between 100 and 200 cm^2 of editorial space.

Although this approximate characterisation is fairly straightforward, there are borderline cases. Sometimes the difference between editorials and background articles written by an editor (signed or not) is not always clear, since both may involve evaluations of the situation. Then, some editorials may be used to summarize news events, whereas others again hardly formulate an independent opinion. As our criterion, then, we use first that editorials must explicitly formulate an opinion, second that they are about actual news events, and third that they must be the own opinion of the newspaper or its editor(s), whether signed or not-signed.

According to these criteria we have selected 22 editorials from different regions, worlds and political ideologies, 11 from third world countries and 11 from first world countries (see Table 7.4.). We have analysed these editorials on a number of structural categories, such as the Analysis of the Situation, Evaluation of the Participants (Gemayel, Falange, Moslem groups, Israel, USA, Syria, PLO, etc.), Speculations, Expectations, and Recommendations. We see that the categories that only form a final, marginal part of news items, here become central structural categories. Although the analysis of the situation will often be followed by some kind of evaluation, such an evaluation may be very general and vague, and not pertain to all participants involved. Only a very systematic and subtle analysis may reveal more concealed opinions between the lines. Other editorials, however, are very explicit in their evaluations, even if few evaluations of participants are fully positive or negative. In Table 7.4. we have assigned subjective evaluations to the opinions of the newspapers, ranging from low, negative opinions (1) to high, positive opinions (5) of each participant. In many cases, as we can see from the numerous open cells, no explicit or even implicit opinion is given (or participants are not even mentioned).

Differences, overall, between first and third world newspapers are not dramatic. The mean evaluation of Gemayel is just a bit higher in first than in third world newspapers. The most striking differences can be observed in the roles of the 'foreign powers' involved not the case for the third world papers, who predominantly (20 cases) refer to the Falangist and the State radio as local sources. Most other sources mentioned are newspapers (such as the Washington Post), and regional or local news agencies. Since information about local sources can be known to third world newspapers only through the international agencies, we may tentatively conclude that third world news tends to have somewhat more attention for 'local sources' than first world newspapers. These local sources may also be politicians, and other persons involved, named or unnamed (e.g. 'security forces in Beirut', 'political sources in Beirut', 'political sources in Jerusalem', 'diplomatic circles', etc.). Many references are made to other media that brought the news, such as the New York Times, Ma'ariv, the BBC, 'Syrian (Egyptian, etc.) newspapers', and so on. Since third world newspapers not only mention internal news sources (mostly radio stations) more often than first world newspapers tend to do, but also other media outside of Lebanon (regional agencies, newspapers), we may provisionally conclude that part of the news in third world papers is 'indirect'. Since they have few own correspondents, these third world newspapers have no other alternative than to complete their coverage and background information from the international agencies with various types of local, regional or international media. Again, however, this means that they are dependent on pre-programmed news, gathered and formulated by others. Yet, at the same time these third world newspapers in this way try to loosen the nearly complete dependence from the international agencies, viz. by having recourse to as many other sources as they can find within the national or regional constraints of each paper.

Besides the international news agencies (which may also be referred to within the body of the article, e.g. in terms of 'the news agencies report that', or 'according to dispatches'), newspaper reports also refer to other sources for the news about the assassination. Indeed, both correspondent and agency dispatches routinely mention local sources for their news, such as the Falangist Radio the State Radio , radiostations in Israel, or just 'radiostations'. Part of the confusion after the bomb attack is due to the reaction of the radio stations, and this reaction has become part of the news events themselves. Immediately after the explosion, the bomb attack was reported, and soon also the rumor that Gemayel had survived. This lead to a general public reaction (in East-Beirut), especially among Falangists of elation. Yet, hours later, when the rumor turned out to be unfounded, the radios went off the air, or started to play classical music, yet without announcing that Gemayel was dead. Only late in the evening of September 14, the official announcement was made, and this was probably the source for most correspondents and agency people.

On the whole, the newspapers refer to 130 'internal sources', i.e. sources that are mentioned in the body of the text, or even as part of the described news events themselves, and not as part of the dateline (or postscripted to the article). Most of these internal references (87) occur in third world newspapers. The first world newspapers only occasionally make use of local Lebanese sources (such as Falangist sources, the Lebanese State Radio or other Lebanese sources). Yet, three times PLO Wafa is mentioned, which is

(ad p.255)

Table 7.4. Subjective evaluations of opinions about various news actors in newspaper editorials (the lower the number, the more negative the opinion).

	Gemayel	Falange	Israel	USA	Syria	PLO	Assassins/Guilt?
A. THIRD WORLD							
1. New Straits Times	3	-	2	-	-	-	-
2. Le Soleil (Sénégal)	4	-	-	-	-	-	"hate"
3. Daily Gulf Times	3	-	1	-	4	-	Israel?
4. El Moudjahid (Algeria)	3	2	1	-	-	4	Israel?
5. Le Réveil	5	5	-	-	-	-	'not a Lebanese'
6. Times of Zambia (Reuter)	2	2	3	-	-	-	Gemayel's own fault
7. Indonesian Observer	2	-	2	-	-	4	own fault
8. Indian Express	2	-	2	4	4	-	-
9. Excelsior	4	-	4	4	-	4	'enemies of West'
10. Barricada	1	-	1	2	-	4	-
11. El Mercurio	5	4	4	-	-	2	-
Mean	3.09	3.25	2.22	3.00	4.00	3.20	
B. FIRST WORLD							
1. Citizen (Canada)	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
2. New York Times	3	-	2	5	2	3	-
3. Los Angeles Times	2	-	-	-	-	-	'violence'
4. Times	3	2	3	4	3	3	-
5. Daily Telegraph	3	-	4	4	2	-	Syria?
6. Le Monde	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. France Soir	4	-	-	-	1	-	Syria?
8. Frankfurter Allgemeine	4	-	4	-	1	1	Syria? PLO?
9. Het Laatste Nieuws (Belg.)	4	-	4	4	-	3	-
10. NRC-Handelsblad (Neth.)	3	-	3	4	-	2	-
11. Die Burger (S-Africa)	4	-	4	-	-	-	-
Mean	3.30	2.00	3.25	4.20	1.80	2.40	

in the Lebanese situation: Israel, Syria and the USA. Israel receives a generally negative evaluation in third world newspapers, except by Chilean *El Mercurio*, as may be expected. The USA, especially due to Reagan's new Mid-East plan, gets rather high credits especially in the western press. For several first world newspapers, Syria is the evil force behind it all, whereas these papers are mixed about the PLO (their rights are recognised, and their departure from Beirut didn't solve much).

Speculations about the possible actors of the assassination also widely differ in first and third world newspapers. Several newspapers simply attribute Gemayel's death to the general atmosphere of 'violence' in Lebanon. Some will add that Gemayel was himself one of those who had contributed to this violence. The Arabic newspapers (except *Le Réveil* of Lebanon) write that only Israel can profit from Gemayel's death. The conservative European newspapers (*Daily Telegraph*, *France Soir* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine*) on the contrary speculate about the direct or indirect role of Syria in this respect.

As for the characterisation of Gemayel, most newspapers express the general political evaluation of the new president-elect, viz. 'mixed feelings'. Most will at least briefly mention that he was "not exactly an angel" (*France-Soir*) or specify his role in the civil war ('ruthless', 'not a man of compromises'). Yet, on the other hand, they will concur with the widespread opinion that despite his personal history, Gemayel might be the 'strong man' who could unify the country and make both the Syrian and the Israeli troops leave the country. *Le Réveil* gives a straight eulogy of their hero and its

Falangist party. *El Mercurio* does so too in more moderate terms, calling the Falangists the "most moderate" of all groups involved in Lebanon. *Barricada* from Nicaragua, however, simply calls them fascist, and Israel is qualified as 'zionist' in the same paper. Although several western newspapers at least condemn the Israeli invasion of West-Beirut, the conservative press in the west merely mentions the invasion as a consequence of the assassination without giving an evaluation. It should be stressed that editorials are not only interesting for the opinions they give, but also for the opinions they do *not* give when an opinion is clearly relevant towards a recent international event such as an invasion. Lack of criticism, in that case, can be interpreted as implicit support, or at least as reluctance to criticize an ally who has engaged in an 'unwise' action.

The general picture from this brief analysis of evaluative positions is clear. The overall negative opinion in many third world countries towards Israel is hardly unexpected, and the same may hold for the conservative press in the first world countries when Syria is involved. The Arabic countries and newspapers obviously do not like the Maronite Christian Gemayel, but give him the benefit of the doubt, as some Moslem groups have done in Lebanon. Nevertheless, although ideological proclivities of the countries and newspapers predict much of their evaluations about events and actors, the general attitudes can be as confused as the situation in Lebanon itself. There *is* no straightforward 'third world' or 'first world' opinion. Right-wing *El Mercurio* from Chile, and *left-wing* La Barricada from Nicaragua, can hardly be expected to speak for the same 'third world'.

Indeed, political orientation is dominant in that respect. Similarly, in the first world newspapers we may find opinions that are highly critical of both Gemayel and Israel, although the opinions in that respect are seldom fully negative but rather express the usual kind of 'political realism' which we also find in the arabic press (whether in socialist countries like Algeria or in a country like Qatar).

From this rather tentative overall analysis of the opinions formulated by the different newspapers, we may conclude that the similarity we find in the news reports is not reproduced in the editorials. Indeed, the editorial is the sole location where the newspaper may formulate its own point of view, which may be partisan with respect to ideology, country, region or other interests it represents or feels sympathetic to.

The analyses of the situation in Lebanon are stereotypical. Emphasis is placed on the bloody civil war, the violence, the conflicts between the factions involved, as well as those between 'foreign' powers such as Israel, Syria, the USA, the other Arab countries, and finally the PLO. These analyses are formulated in the usual stereotypes about Lebanon, such as 'factional strife', 'conflict-ridden country', 'Lebanese drama', etc. In general, the death of Gemayel is evaluated as a blow to the modest hopes that had accompanied Gemayel's election. Gemayel was a 'strong man' who was one of the few who could unify the country and bring peace. Despite his violent past, he had shown after his election that he wanted to make compromises, promised to expell all foreign troops, and even would not conclude a peace treaty with his allies in Tel Aviv. This analysis is the basis for the 'mixed feelings' in most editorials. They tend to give Gemayel the benefit of the doubt, although others (such as Le Monde) also express scepticism.

The expectations and speculations about the future are rather vague in the editorials. Most editorials speak about general confusion, threat of continued fighting, possible vengeance, and the possibility of a renewed civil war. No newspaper explicitly makes proposals about a new president, although some vague guesses are made, but rejected in the light of the 'impossible task' of the future president. Only a conservative newspaper like the Daily Telegraph expects that the Russians (via the Syrians) will profit from the situation, and therefore suggests that the 'western powers' should have stayed in Beirut. Most newspapers welcome Reagan's Mid-East plan, and/or mention the Arabic initiatives of the summit in Fez. Most agree that the PLO, or rather the future of the Palestinian people,will remain the core issue, also in Lebanon. Thus, the New York Times, supporting the Reagan peace plan, typically formulates both sides of the coin: Arab countries should learn to live in co-existence with Israel, whereas Israel and its allies should accept that the PLO cannot be destroyed by force, and that the Palestinian rights should be respected. Practically all agree that the foreign troops, both Israel and Syria, should leave Lebanon. And most newspapers, like the Indonesian Observer, conclude that the death of Gemayel, and the possible ensuing violence, will only be used by Israel as a reason (if not pretext) to continue its occupation of Lebanon until a friendly and strong government is established and/or until a peace treaty is signed. In the editorials the opinions may be clear or vague, and there will also be some straightforward recommendations, but the overall expectations are rather pessimistic. The hopelessness of the situation in Lebanon, indeed, brings many editors to formulate, in often very literary and rhetorical terms, an overall moral rather than a practical conclusion: 'violence will spawn violence', or 'who lives by sword, will perish by the sword'.

For our own general discussion, this brief informal analysis of the editorials (which would need detailed, systematic description), has shown that the standardization of international news does not necessarily affect the editorial opinions. Although some editorials may be directly based on the opinions or facts as delivered by the international press agencies, which typically give a 'on the one hand, on the other hand' story, editorials show various interpretations and evaluations. Most editorials express the ideological, political or regional attitudes of the newspaper, party, country or interests they represent or are associated with. There is no homogeneous 'first world' or 'third world' voice in this respect: variations within are just as big as variations among these two 'worlds', especially when the evaluation of Gemayel or the situation in Lebanon is concerned.

Finally, to give some more substance to the qualitative analysis of the editorials, we also compared them to our *quantitative data about editorials* and their evaluations relative to the various news actors involved in different thematic clusters. Across several thematic clusters analyzed, such as A-themes in general, A-background themes, and B-themes, we first found that 31 of 80 editorials analyzed were neutral or unclear as to their actor evaluation. In other words, more than 60% of the editorials *do* show a specific opinion about the major news actors involved. For news and background articles, this is the reverse: 60% of them do *not* show a specific evaluation, but are categorized as neutral or unclear (note that these are subjective categorizations of scorers). Next, 21.2% of the editorials exhibit a pro-Israel opinion, and 30.0% an anti-Israel opinion, 15% are pro-Falange, and 10% anti-Falange, 11.2% pro-USA, and 8.8% anti-USA. This means that the evaluations in editorials need not necessarily be ideologically or politically homogeneous. The tendency we found above, namely that the larger part of the press was critical of Israel, also shows in these quantitative data, but the position about the USA and the Falange is not necessarily consistent with it (in the sense that these three main actors have similar political objectives in Lebanon): overall, there seem to be more pro-USA and pro-Falange opinions. Pro- and anti-Arab positions are not frequent in the editorials. Although main news articles and background articles have less opinions, their evaluation distributions across news actors are rather similar (anti-Israel, more pro- than anti-USA), except for

for the evaluations of the Falange in background articles: here, the negative opinions dominate. When we then look at the scores for articles featuring specific thematic clusters, it also appears where and why the evaluations may be given. Thus, the anti-Israel evaluations are given especially in those editorials where background information about the assassination is discussed, such as the general political situation, consequences, and so on, rather than the bomb attack itself.

From these modest quantitative measures, we may conclude first that even if newspapers are free to formulate their own opinions about the events, a considerable number of editorials do not seem to actually exhibit a clear position pro- or contra the major news actors involved. Second, only a fifth of the editorials evaluate the role of the USA, more or less equally often positive as negative. The only dominant evaluation is that about Israel, but even then only 30% of the editorials are critical about that country. And finally, the role of the Falange (and probably that of Gemayel) is also evaluated both positively and negatively, though the editorials seem to be somewhat more positive than the news and background articles in that respect.

The conclusions from both the (superficial) qualitative analysis and from the quantitative data about the editorials can of course not be a substitute for detailed analyses of editorials. Opinions are usually not just pro- or contra- , but maybe complex and full of nuances. Also, they are argued in different stylistic and rhetorical terms. Unfortunately, space limitations prevent us from giving such a detailed analysis of editorials.

9. Television News about the Assassination

Although our case study is limited to the analysis of news in the press, we should briefly pay attention also to the news in television broadcasts. For news events that become known later in the day, the evening TV news is often the first to report about the events, and newspapers may sometimes even presuppose knowledge about such events in their editions of the following day.

Much recent work on the news is based on television news (cf. for instance the work by the Glasgow University Media Group), and for good reasons: it is the medium that reaches most people, and which generally is considered to be most impartial.

Unfortunately, we were unable to collect news broadcasts on TV from several countries, so that we would have been able to compare the coverage internationally. This would have required videotaping by different people in different countries, also because the news tapes after some days are no longer kept by the broadcasting organizations themselves (see Golding & Elliott, 1979, for a case study).

For our case study, however, van Golde, Grapperhaus & Rook (1983) have collected the text of the evening TV news programs of September 14 through 17, on Dutch television (NOS-News), and compared the spoken text with the news from the national news agency (ANP) and with Dutch newspapers.

The news agency ANP already brought the news of the explosion in its 18.00 hrs bulletin. This bulletin merely mentions the location of the explosion and that there were several casualties. Several hours later, at 22.00 hrs. this information is somewhat specified, and mention is made of Gemayel being unhurt, whereas eight deaths are reported. Only the midnight news, at 23.55, then brings the news about the death of Gemayel.

The NOS TV-news program of 20.00 does not yet bring the news about the explosion or the rumors about the survival of Gemayel. Yet, at 22.55 hrs on Channel 1, and at 23.50 on Channel 2, NOS news opens with a brief item (94 words) about the death of Gemayel due to a bomb explosion in his party headquarters. Apparently, this news had just come in, since a first version of this item still mentions that Gemayel was injured. Even with a two hour time difference with Beirut, this means that TV news can bring events that have become known locally only moments before (the news in Beirut was broadcast at about 23.00 hours, local time).

TV news, compared to newspaper news, is typical 'headline news'. Indeed, when we compare the TV bulletin text with the news in the papers of the next day, we observe that the TV text is practically identical with the headline + lead in the dailies:

> Bechir Gemayel, president-elect of Lebanon, has died as a result of the attack this afternoon on the headquarters of his Falangist Movement in Beirut. First it was reported that Gemayel was only lightly injured in the attack, in which many others were killed. He would have been rescued from the rubble with only a leg injury. But, after hours without information about him, it has just become known from government sources in Beirut, that also Gemayel had died, nine days before he would have been sworn in as president.

We see that the major topics of the newspapers are here, but only in abbreviated form: Bomb explosion in Falangist Party Headquarters, Gemayel dead, Rumors about survival, Found dead hours later, and the official announcement. At a more micro level we only find that Gemayel according to the rumors suffered only a light leg injury. No information is given about Gemayel himself, about his personal and political background, about the political context or about the possible consequences. In other words, TV news brings what we earlier called the (smallest) 'kernel story'.

The next day, it is the invasion of West-Beirut by the Israeli army that comes as first item in the evening bulletins. At the end of that bulletin, however, further information relative to the assasination is provided: Begin presented his condolences to Pierre Gemayel. A brief piece of film then shown Pierre and Bechir Gemayel during a parade of the Falangist militia, and a voice-over identifies the participants, and describes Pierre Gemayel as the founder of the Falangist party, and Gemayel as militia leader and as the 'factual leader' of the party. Next, a piece from an interview with Gemayel is shown, in which Gemayel states that there can be no disarming of militias as long as there are foreign troops (Palestinians, Syrians) in the country. Follows news about the negotiations by US envoy Morris Draper about the departure of foreign troups from Lebanon. We see that even on next bulletins, TV-news hardly brings more background about the assassination or about Gemayel, not even about the controversial election, Gemayel's history, or the political situation. The assassination is brought as an isolated event among all other news of violence in Lebanon. Details and background must apparently be obtained from the newspapers or from other TV programs. Yet, first position in the bulletin suggests that the event is seen to be of (international) importance.

We may not generalize from this Dutch TV news program to others in other countries. Yet, in most Western European countries news bulletins are hardly longer than 20 minutes (in Great Britain they may have a somewhat different format, also featuring longer background stories)(see also Strassner, 1983, for details about the structure of TV-news bulletins). This means that if on average 10 items must be read, such a first item will only have a few minutes. In structural-metaphorical terms, TV news is the tip of the iceberg of the news as it becomes available through the international and national news agencies. Even the brief ANP radio bulletins bring much more details in their respective broadcasts. Next, of the thematic news structure, the TV news item brings only Main Event information, possibly with one or two lower level details. Third, some of these details may depend on the kind of pictures (stills) or news film available (such as the Falangist militia parade in our case). Fourth. selection of other news schema categories, such as international reactions, may be highly biased. In our example only Begin is mentioned, as well as Morris Draper's negotations. A Lebanese spokesperson, viz. premier Wazzan, is only mentioned as the one who condemns the invasion. In other words, the TV item just mentions isolated main 'facts', and does not provide even a brief interpretative framework, featuring crucial information about the possible reasons for the assassination, such as the controversial election, the conflict between Maronite Christians both among each other and with Moslem groups. Indeed, as we have seen for a few newspapers earlier, the assassination is just one element of, if not caused by, the 'violence' in Lebanon. Such, indeed, is mass media news.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSIONS

1. Backgrounds and analytical frameworks

This study has been written against the background of the international debate about the nature and the distribution of news and other information throughout the world. This debate, organized and stimulated mainly by UNESCO, focused on perceived imbalances in the participation of the various regions or countries of the world in the global information and communication order. Especially the developing countries find that their share in, and their access to this order are unjustly limited. Not only information and communication technologies, but also their crucial 'software', such as news, books, magazines, TV-programs or other types of discourse, are controlled directly or indirectly by western organizations and institutions. Thus, news about, towards and from developing countries is largely gathered, formulated and distributed by a few transnational news agencies based in a few powerful western countries. It was observed that this financial, technological and ideological control has often led to highly incomplete, fragmented if not biased representations of third world events in the various news media.

Whereas this situation has been analyzed from various points of view, also within academic contexts, we still know very little about the qualitative details of global news production, representation and distribution. The socio-economic facts are more or less clear, though open to different interpretations and evaluations. We know who is in control of international news and how this affects news production and distribution. We also have some approximate insights into the overall contents of the news and hypotheses about how these are a function of the control structures. We know which news categories, which countries, which actors and which topics are represented in the news media of the various countries and regions of the world. Theoretical and empirical studies have shown that these important dimensions of news content can at least partly be described in terms of political, economic, military and/or ideological power, the role and interests of elites, ethnocentrical perspectives and a number of other news values, such as negativity, spectacularity and other criteria of cognitive-affective relevance. In other words, the general picture or interpretative framework of how the news represents the countries, peoples and events in the world are clear.

Yet, our insights are merely skeletal. We know the outlines, but few of the interesting and intricate details of international news. Part of the actual controversies find their source in this ignorance. What we need to know much more about is how exactly the news media in the world represent actual events, states of affairs and developments, and how exactly such representations affect the knowledge, beliefs, opinions, attitudes and ideologies of news recipients in different contexts and cultures. This study is meant as a contribution to the admittedly very complex response to the first question: how are world events exactly portrayed in the news?

Our approach to this task has been both theoretical and empirical. From a theoretical point of view, we have shown how a systematic discourse analysis can be used to analyze even subtle properties and dimensions of news discourse, thereby providing a necessary complement to the predominantly quantitative content analyses of the news. The empirical dimension of our approach has been a concrete case study of the coverage in many newspapers from many countries about the assassination of President-elect Bechir Gemayel of Lebanon on September 14, 1982. The more specific question in that case study was: given some prominent 'international event', how does a central news medium, viz. the newspaper, access, describe, interprete and evaluate such an event, and are these processes a function of different regional, socio-economic, cultural, political or ideological factors that characterize the various newspapers across the world? The assassination of a president-elect in a highly newsworthy country like Lebanon is such an event, and it allows us to make a full-scale analysis and comparison of the different newspapers in the world, even when we only can analyze a sample of the thousands of extant newspapers. Whereas such a research goal is rather straightforward and of undeniable theoretical, empirical and political interest, predictions and therefore also an evaluation of the results are much less clear-cut. Most newspapers depend on the transnational news agencies for their international news, and if we would find high similarity between news reports in different newspapers of the various regions of the world, this would allow us to interpret the results in terms of 'dependence' of newspapers from these agencies. Yet, the same result may also be interpreted in terms of a tacit international consensus about the basic framework and format of news discourse and representation. Theoretically, this consensus may be independent of the transnational news agencies, or even force the news agencies to deliver a product that fits the format required. And conversely, if we would find substantial differences between news reporting in developed and developing countries, despite identical input from the news agencies, the results could also be interpreted in different directions. Differences might be due to socio-economic, political, cultural or ideological variations between countries or societies and hence their media. But they might also be due to the specific constraints within the news media in the developing and developed countries, such as a lack of sufficient resources, journalists, facilities, or technology for many in the third world. In that case the further interpretation of these facts may again revert to notions such as dependence or unjust balances in the distribution of the world's resources. And in both cases, thus, the ultimate interpretations of the results would require the necessary integration of factors from both the global information and the global socio-economic orders. It follows that even a systematic study of international news style and content and its underlying rules or format cannot be carried out in vacuo. Any further interpretation and evaluation of the results bring us back to the fundamental issues that have characterized the debate mentioned earlier.

2. Theory, Analysis, Method

News is a particular type of discourse. This rather obvious observation suggests that we should approach the news by the theoretical and descriptive frameworks of the emerging discipline of discourse analysis. And that suggestion is less obvious, when we find that the study of mass communications and its methods have been very little influenced, as yet, by systematic discourse analysis or even by its somewhat better known and influential sister-discipline of linguistics. At most, a theoretically and descriptively rather confused and hardly explicit form of semiotics has been admitted to and practised in media analyses, which however has yielded results that were more than welcome after many years of a predominantly quantitative and necessarily superficial 'content analysis' approach to media messages. Discourse analysis, which has been developing rapidly since the early 1970s and which of course also has many different directions, schools and methods, provides a descriptive framework that enables us to systematically account for most properties and dimensions of news discourse. And although its structural characterization of texts is inspired by linguistic notions, the interdisciplinary backgrounds and ramifications of discourse analysis at the same time guarantee that such textual structures are systematically linked with the cognitive, social and cultural dimensions of news production, understanding, uses and functions.

A study of these latter aspects, those of the various stages of communication, could unfortunately not be undertaken here. We therefore had to focus on the various structural properties of news discourse itself. Yet, even such an analysis allows us to make powerful hypotheses about the processes of production and comprehension, because text structures are not arbitrary but functionally linked to their communicative context. Analogies with other types of discourse and communication, as well as extant research results about news production and reception, allow us to give substance to such hypotheses against the background of results of structural analyses of the news.

Discourse exhibits vastly complex types of organization. One study, and especially a limited, descriptive case study, can hope to account only for a few properties or levels of analysis. But the wider framework of our research goals and context hardly requires a full-scale analysis. For instance, it is not a priori obvious why we would need a complete syntactic analysis of all sentences that make up news discourse, even if it were feasible to do so for hundreds of news texts in our sample. Some properties of syntax, such as the overall structural complexity of clause organization in sentences or the role of topic and word order might be sufficient. The same holds for other dimensions or levels of analysis: graphical organization, the semantic study of meaning and reference, the pragmatic analysis of speech acts, the schematic description of overall news text forms (superstructures), or the stylistic and rhetorical characterization of the adequate and effective formulation of news. From these various levels and their respective subdisciplines we have selected only a few relevant ones: the organization of themes or topics, overall news schemata, local meanings and coherence, and some features of style and rhetoric. In the respective chapters of this study we have explained the theoretical underpinnings of the analysis of these structural properties, and shown how they are relevant also for the study of news in general and for the news articles from our data in particular. For some of these dimensions of analysis we have also provided some quantitative measures, which allow us to make modest generalizations and overall comparisons between different types of newspaper or regions of the world. Finally, we have also given, though less systematically, some brief characterizations of other relevant properties of news discourse, such as the cross-level relevance organization of news items the use of photographs, and a comparison with the input texts from the transnational news agencies. Obviously, even such a systematic approach leaves many issues untouched and many questions unanswered. A complete study of for instance the headlines alone would require a report on its own, and the same is true for lexical style, local coherence connections between sentences, topic sequencing or the organization of news text categories in conventional schemata. Moreover, we have been unable to provide a systematic study of differences between different kinds of news texts, such as proper news reports, background articles or features and editorial commentaries. Similarly, we could only give limited attention to different newspaper types or 'styles', as they distinguish for instance the 'serious' or 'quality' press from the 'popular' or 'mass' press in many countries. In fact, variations, if any, may even be more marked here than between different regions of the world. Indeed, generalizations about 'the press' in the developed and the developing countries may, when style and content are concerned, appear to be too simplistic. And finally, several reasons prevented us from making a complete comparative analysis of the wires of the international news agencies about the assassination of Gemayel and the transformations they have undergone in the various newspaper reports. In other words, we have only been able to paint some rough features in the picture that represents the ways the press in the world covers an important international event.

Whereas some of these limitations are practical, and based on a lack of time, personnel, equipment (and hence money), others have a more principled nature. Indeed, discourse analysis is not a panacea for methodological or descriptive problems in mass communication research. It is a young discipline, and so are its theories. Apart from some of its fragments, there is no standard approach to most of the dimensions or levels of texts. Linguistic approaches have long been limited to the level of words, phrases and sentences, and the highly complex organization of complete texts is only partly understood. Then, news as such may exhibit its particular properties, for which new notions and much empirical study are necessary before practical methods of effective description can be proposed. And finally, discourse analysis has a qualitative, structuralistic bias. For many practical goals, such as the characterization of large data bases consisting of hundreds of texts, it is poorly equipped as long as we cannot program computers to do the explicit discourse analyses automatically. Hence, in this respect they may remedy classical content analyses of a quantitative nature, e.g. by proposing more explicit definitions or identification of relevant textual 'units', but will hardly fully replace the 'fast and easy' methods that deal with large data bases, and which yield the necessary statistical results. So, although we provide some quantitative results as well, we have intentionally tried to examine how far a more qualitative analysis of international news would carry us. Future research will have to further explore the ideal combination of the various approaches, given different research goals. We are primarily interested in how the newspapers in the world cover an event, and only secondarily whether there are systematic differences in this respect between developed and developing countries, or whether the qualitative results are otherwise generalizable. For many researchers in mass communication, as well as for all those interested in practical results that can be represented in 'hard' statistics, such an approach may be disappointing, if not frustrating or even irrelevant. Yet, it will become clear in the future that the complexities of even such a 'simple' everyday object as a news report in our daily paper need to be recognized and fully analyzed before we can understand what exactly news is and how it works. Without such an explicit insight, for instance, we are unable to even start a serious analysis of what this and many other studies are ultimately about, namely, how the news forms and transforms the knowledge, beliefs, attitudes or ideologies of people. Our (academic) understanding of the news is a major condition for our understanding of how people understand --and hence can act in-- their world.

3. Main results from the case study

The previous sections of this concluding chapter have been meant as introduction but also as a (repeated) admonition with respect to some concluding results from the case study to be given in this section. More detailed conclusions have been given at the end of each chapter, so we here focus on more general results of our analysis. And the remarks made in the previous sections are also meant to place these results into their right perspective, so that their partiality and other limitations need not be repeated after each sentence or paragraph.

Overall result

To start directly with the major and final conclusion, to be detailed for each level of analysis below, we may first state that news in the various dailies of the world we have examined is structurally very much similar. This also holds for the coverage of a specific event like the assassination of Gemayel. There is much variation on each level, but we have been unable to find dramatic differences. If these exist, they seem to characterize different types of dailies, even within one country, rather than different regions or (first or third) worlds. Overall content, style, schematic organization, and relevance assigments are similar across countries and regions. And (substantial) variation of length and completeness of the coverage is also fairly equally distributed across the world. On the whole, western newspapers are able to publish somewhat longer articles and somewhat more background, but again variation here is such that the overall differences are barely significant it seems.

But although analyses of several levels each supported this overall conclusion, it should nevertheless be qualified. We did have more or less the same number of papers and articles in our samples from third and first world countries (but not regions) they are nevertheless hardly representative from several points of view. Thus, proportionally, for instance first world newspapers, especially from North America, were underrepresented. Secondly, due to language problems we were unable to analyze many newspapers from third world countries, especially the very relevant ones (for our study) from the Middle East. This means that newspapers in these countries that are written in for us accessible 'western' languages are overrrepresented, and this may favor the 'no difference' conclusion if choice of language is correlated with choice of news report style. Thirdly, overall (world) similarity dissimulates, for this type of news and this case study, considerable regional differences. Thus, on the whole we can hardly equate e.g. the Latin-American with for instance the Central African press, though both would be categorized as 'third world'. The same holds between for instance the Western and the Eastern European press, though we have taken both as 'first world' press: the coverage of the events in Lebanon in Eastern Europe is just much more limited in amount and size, which makes conclusions about detailed structural differences/similarities difficult.
Also , our choice of newspapers and the practical limitations of gathering them in the first place, has favored big (high selling) and quality newspapers, mostly national ones, and disfavored the

large amounts of smaller and regional newspapers. This circumstanstance has of course made our samples more homogeneous, but the overall conclusion should therefore be limited to this 'kind' of newspaper. And finally, the similarity holds of course for this type of event. News about other international events, or about domestic events, as well as more controversial issues may of course be different in many respects.

Yet, despite these important qualifications the conclusion seems to be warranted that the world-wide similarities in news coverage and structures are substantial. Indeed, we may even conclude that there is world-wide consensus, whether accepted or deplored, about what a news report about some international event should look like. This suggests an implicit, but routinely known, system of rules and strategies, shared by most journalists across the world, which is more or less independent of ideological, political, cultural or regional factors. This surprising homogeneity needs explanation, for instance in terms of the social conditions of journalistic practices in the world. We come back to this explanation below.

Similarity in news formats around the world, does of course not imply that there are no differences between newspapers, countries, news styles or news contents. Even in our case study about one international event we did find differences of style, size or organization. And, more importantly, differences may also be found in the very selection of news, in the amount of overall coverage of certain topics, actors, countries or issues. Other studies have demonstrated such differences, which we could not analyze for our data.

Some quantitative results

In our case study we examined 729 articles from 145 different newspapers of 72 countries. These articles were all published on the 15th, 16th and 17th of September 1982, and were about the bomb attack against Bechir Gemayel on September 14, and about the invasion of West-Beirut by the Israeli army on September 15. Of the first world countries, we analyzed 84 newspapers from 29 countries, and from the third world countries, we studied 61 newspapers from 43 countries. Of the newspapers, 22 have more than 10 articles about the events in Lebanon (among which 14 third world newspapers), and the overall mean is about 5 articles per newspaper. Of a total amount of published articles of 896, we actually analyzed 729, of which 363 from the first and 366 of the third world. Results summarized here pertain only to the set of 729 articles. Most articles (245) and newspapers (114) we analyzed were from Western Europe, followed by Central and South America (142 articles from 58 newspapers), the other regions being represented only with several dozens of articles. Of the Middle-East and (arabic) North Africa we analyzed 109 articles from (only) 19 (non-arabic) newspapers, most of which (54) appeared in the Lebanese newspaper Le Réveil, which is close to the Falangist party of which Gemayel was the militia leader. This is also the newspaper that published most articles about the assassination of Gemayel, followed by the New York Times with 18 items in three days. This rank order also holds for the size of the coverage (in cm^2): more than 16,000 cm^2 in Le Réveil, and more than 6,000 cm^2 in the New York Times. There are 13 newspapers that have a total coverage of more than 2500 cm^2, 5 of which are third world newspapers. Western Europe again has the largest coverage (about 64,000 cm^2), followed by Central/South America (with about 34,500 cm^2) and the Middle-East/North Africa (about 28,000 cm^2). Overall, Eastern Europe, Africa, South Asia, East/South East Asia and Australia/Oceania, have the lowest figures for the number and size of coverage, mainly due to the lower amount of articles/newspapers analyzed for these regions. The total world coverage of the events is about 180,000 cm^2, of which nearly 93,000 cm^2 in first world and nearly 87,000 cm^2 3rd. world countries. We see that for a nearly identical number of articles from first and third world newspapers, we find that coverage in first world newspapers is just slightly more voluminous, but on average the third world newspapers published more articles in these three days about the events in Lebanon. Also the mean size of articles in the first world was only slightly larger (258 cm^2) than that of third world articles (229 cm^2). In all these figures, it should be noted, there is considerable variance: for each country or region, the coverage is highly variable, so that overall differences between first and third world countries are barely significant.

Two-thirds of all articles were proper news articles, whereas 18% were background articles and 11.7% commentaries (some 5% 'other'). These distributions of articles over different categories are also similar for first and third world newspapers, except that first world newspapers had more background articles (21.4%) than third world newspapers (14.7%). We will come back to this difference below.

We also (subjectively) evaluated the overall political stance of each article (with sometimes different evaluations per article) with respect to the major groups involved (Falange, Israel, USA, Arab countries). In rather general terms, it may be said that such an opinion appeared to be 'neutral' or 'unclear' for the majority of articles (60%), whereas the rest of the articles, both for the first and the third world, were rather evenly distributed in pro- and contra- these major actors in the events. On the whole the political evaluation of Israel (especially after the invasion) appeared to be more negative, which was in line with the world-wide political consensus which condemned ('deplored') this invasion. Taking the total coverage by each paper, it appeared that for only 15% of the newspapers all articles appeared to have some kind of political bias. Hence in our data, most newspapers and most articles appear to be more or less neutral in their coverage, and again there are no marked differences here between first and third world newspapers.

Themes

The qualitative analysis of news and of the articles from our case study started with an analysis of so-called 'themes' or 'topics', which were defined as semantic macrostructures of discourse. For news discourse, these are routinely expressed (often subjectively) by headlines and lead. The overall thematic structure shows which themes organize the meaning ('content') of the text, and especially what their hierarchical ordering is. Eight articles from 8 newspapers from various regions of the world were subjected to detailed thematic analysis. There is general thematic agreement between the papers as to the highest level topics, viz. 'Gemayel was killed by a bomb explosion in his party headquarters', 'Gemayel had been elected president, to which especially Moslem groups were opposed'. Thematic differences can be found especially in the presence or the size of background topics, such as those about Gemayel's personal and political history, the present political situation in Lebanon and the Middle East, or the political consequences of the assassination. Thus, by selection, some newspapers can represent Gemayel in a more negative way (his acts during the civil war), where others select more positive topics (his possible role in the unification and for peace in Lebanon). The majority of the newspapers however provide both perspectives if they give backgrounds at all. There is only one newspaper that openly welcomes the death of Gemayel.

A quantitative study of themes in papers of various regions revealed that (of course) the bom attack and the death of Gemayel score very high (both in first and third world), but that also two other main themes are treated very often, viz. 'political consequences of the assassination' and 'international reactions'. Reactions are more frequently thematized in third world papers, and political consequences more frequently dealt with in the first world press. Overall, the background themes have more prominence in the first world press (especially when the political situation, in which Israel and the USA are directly involved, is dealt with). Especially the international reactions get much attention. Indeed, we here meet one of the central categories of a news schema.

A cluster analysis of co-occurences for different themes confirms the structural analysis. Obviously, bomb attack, survival rumors and death of Gemayel tend to occur together, but this is not the case for the background themes. These are not only less frequent overall, but also may occur disjointly: in other words, newspapers tend to make a selection of such background topics: they either treat the personal or political history of Gemayel, or the details about the controversial election, or the actual political situation (the negotations) in Lebanon or the political consequences.

Actors are a central category in themes or topics: they are the persons, institutions or countries the news is 'about'. Of course, Gemayel leads the score, also in the headlines, and so does Israel in the invasion news. Follow the various Lebanese politicians involved , various Moslem groups, the Falange and the PLO. But outside of Lebanon or Israel, the USA (as country), president Reagan (as a commentator), and Morris Draper (the US negotiator) head the list. Expectedly, there is a difference between first and third world newspapers here: these western news actors are less often mentioned in third world news (even when we take into account that the third world press overall mentions actors less: 45% against 55% of all mentions in first world newspapers, a kind of difference we find all over the data --and which can partly be accounted for by an overall 10% difference in numbers and sizes of articles). The western press also mentions Israel (and Israeli actors) more often.

Schemata

News discourse, like many other discourse types, such as stories or argumentations, may exhibit some conventional 'schema'. This overall 'form' is defined in terms of a number of conventional journalistic categories and rules of (trans-)formation that determine the ordering and the hierarchical structure of the schema. Well-known are of course fixed categories such as Headlines or Lead, and also Background. Yet, we may distinguish also between Actual Context, History. Previous Events, Immediate Consequences, Verbal Reactions, etc. All these categories are variably organized around a central category of Main Event. These schematic categories organize (are 'filled by') the respective global themes of a news text, and allow us to judge --independent of length-- whether an article is structurally 'complete' or 'well-formed'. Of course, some categories are obligatory, and others are optional.

For our Gemayel corpus, we found first that in line with the thematic structure, the Main Event (bomb attack and death of Gemayel) occurred always, as may be expected, and also always in first order, expressed in Headlines and/or Lead, and also in the first paragraphs of the article. Some newspapers have a specific structure in this respect and also place the Consequences category fairly prominently in the schema, ordering it in the beginning of the article, but this is nevertheless an exception to the conventional rule. The overall order of categories we found in our data was approximately: Main Event, Context (election of G.), History, Consequences, Verbal Reactions. Note though that, typically for news discourse, these categories are not treated continuously, e.g. in respective paragraphs. Rather, they are delivered 'in installments': the most important information of each category first, and then later details of each category. Thus, Main Event may 'come back' at several points in the news, and the same holds for History or Consequences. This assigns a so-called overall Relevance structure to a news-item, which brings the most prominent information first, on-top, most conspicuously, etc. The local and linear structure of a news article, however becomes much more confused due to that principle of relevance: readers must 're-actualize' constantly different topics and schematic categories when reading through the article. Examination of a series of news articles from our data revealed that indeed, apart from Headlines or Lead sections, Main Event is obligatory, and also Consequences and Verbal Reactions occur often. Evaluation and Expectation occur least, both in first and third world newspapers. The History (civil war, etc.) category seems to appear somewhat more in first world newspapers, whereas Verbal Reactions, as we saw before, appears relatively more often in third world papers. A brief examination of the British press, however, revealed that categories such as Context, Background, History or Consequences are typical of the 'quality' press: they tend to be very short or wholly absent in most popular (mass) newspapers of the tabloid format (which have few and short articles anyhow about these events).

Local semantics

Themes and schemes are typically 'overall' or 'global' structures of the news. To understand the often subtle details of news discourse, we have also examined the so-called microstructures, such as the local meanings of words, phrases, clauses or sentences, as well as the coherence relations between sentences. Here, we find the details of the descriptions of the events and the actors. Thus, for our data we examined first what kind of details are mentioned for the respective topics or news schema categories. It was found that this link between macrostructural themes and microstructural meaning details is established by operations of Specification. For each event, action or situation, these specifications are drawn from a limited, conventional set of categories: Time and Location specifications, (Other) Actors and their Roles (mostly categorized as Friend/Ally or Enemy/Opponent), Conditions/Causes and Consequences of Actions, Component Actions, Contents of statements by Actors, Instruments and Identifications of (new) Actors. In all these categories, there is further a very subtantial amount of quantification: Numbers are very important as specification types, as we also found at the level of rhetoric (see below). (Quasi-)precise numbers are given for time, weight of bomb, dates, ages, and so on. Only a few newspapers use typical Evaluation categories in their news articles. Such a category however can often be found in Background or Commentary items. Selection of details most clearly seemed to differentiate newspapers from different political persuasions. Thus, communist newspapers tend to select negative details about the life of Gemayel or about the invasion of West-Beirut by the Israeli army, whereas the other newspapers are either more 'balanced' in this respect or tend to neglect these negative details. Thus, of Gemayel it may be mentioned that he made attacks on other (Christian) groups during the civil war, without mentioning the attacks made at his own life.

An analysis of local coherence first showed that newspapers may use temporal connections ('B after A') when in fact conditional or even causal relations are involved (or conversely). This may be the case e.g. for the assassination and invasion topics, on the whole, or the relation between the controversial election or Gemayel's actions in the civil war, on the one hand, and his assassination on the other hand. Causal connections, in fact, may imply a specific interpretation of the facts and newspapers tend to avoid these, or simply have them embedded in quoted statements. Of the other coherence relations, we often find (as suggested above) the Specification relation between sentences, as well as Condition and Consequence relations. The first signal the typical relevance (pyramidal) set-up of a news item, the second type organizes the text according to the structure of events the text is about (cause-consequence relations in 'reality'). Popular newspapers will often tend to use the second kind of coherence links, as we also find in natural storytelling (a device that contributes to the dramatic tension of the story because the results are not mentioned directly but postponed).

Finally, another local semantic property of news appeared to be various types of implicitness, indirectness of vagueness, which allows the news to avoid outright expression of evaluations or speculations.

Style and Rhetoric

Both global and local meanings of news must be expressed or formulated, and at this point style and rhetoric come into play. Style was defined as the contextually bound variation in the 'surface structure' of texts and pertains to lexical choice or syntactic sentence structure. Rhetoric, here, was restricted to a study of special structural devices at all levels of the text, intended to enhance the effectiveness of the message. Since the news, according to the dominant news ideology, is not persuasive but informative, we should not expect many rhetorical devices, and we indeed did not find many in our data. There was at least one exception, already mentioned above: the surprising use of Numbers. We concluded that such numbers are not merely used to express exactness , but rather as a rhetorical device to signal reliability or trustworthiness of the news account, even when the numbers appeared to be mostly inaccurate or downright wrong and were seldom corrected in follow-up news.

News style appeared to be heavily constrained by the communicative context of newspaper communication: it is rather formal and institutional, meant to convey and formulate topics of general interest to a large public and in a serious key. Lexical registers, also in our data, are therefore constrained by this context. Evaluative or colloquial terms are avoided. Nominalizations abound, as usual in abstract discourse. Typical for news language is the constant use of mitigated terms, again in order to avoid negative or partisan inferences. People do not just 'die' but are 'fatally wounded', and politicians (are said to) 'deplore' instead of 'hate' what happened or what others did. Of course, we also found the stereotypical partisan lexical items to denote 'controversial' news actors, such as 'zionist' for Israeli actors, or 'invadors' for the occupation army, as we also may find 'terrorist' in the Israeli press to denote the PLO. Then, a few examples of classics such as '(freedom) fighters' where others have 'guerrillas'. These lexical biases are well-known, and are found where we expect them to be. Yet, they do not dominate the news at all, not even where we expect them to do so. As far as the assassination topics are concerned, the international press is remarkably balanced, also in its local descriptions. Finally, we also encountered the usual series of lexical stereotypes that characterize news language. Except for the mitigating 'fatally wounded', we find expressions such as 'new wave of fighting' and 'factional strife' to denote the situation in conflict-ridden (another of these expressions) areas.

The stylistic description of Gemayel follows this pattern. All newspapers first identify him by his names, his actual function (president-elect) and his previous functions (militia chief). But then there is a variety of polarized, stereotypical, expressions, that depending on the point of view describe him as a 'ruthless warrior' or as a 'popular hero' (as the Reuter's phrases were, used by many newspapers). Yet, the negative terms are mostly embedded in direct or indirect quotations of (un-)identified enemies of Gemayel. Again, the newspaper will try to avoid to express its own evaluation, and uses the common strategy of hiding behind quotes. Again, neither for style nor for rhetoric differences were found between first and third world papers.

Other topics

The results from the systematic, level-by-level description neglect a number of issues that require special analysis, e.g. because they pertain to several levels of analysis. For instance, the overall relevance organization of news items appeared to affect the presence, ordering and size of topics, the overall news schema and its categories, local ordering of clauses, specification relations, typographical lay-out, style and rhetoric devices, as well as syntactic structures of sentences. In other words, journalists have a vast array of structural strategies that enable them to 'emphasize' certain types of information, make them more prominent to the reader. Of course, the reader need not pick up these signals, and may assign his/her own relevance structure, and this subjective relevance structure is the one that influences the further representation and recall of the information in memory. In our Gemayel corpus, there is common agreement that the bomb attack and the death of Gemayel have major prominence, and this is signalled in many ways: in the headlines, leads, order of the Main Event, and even in the use of Gemayel as subject and topic in the majority of the sentences. Yet, also his opponents (especially the Moslem groups) have this function, and we indeed find a thematic, stylistic and prominence 'balance' between the major actors in the Lebanese conflict. That is, text structure in many ways signals --and not only describes-- the perceived situation in Lebanon.

An analysis of photographs shows that most newspapers carry at least one picture of Gemayel, mostly a portrait. Although a few pictures are used very frequently, and some twenty account for most newspaper pictures, the total amount of different pictures is 181, although most of these are published in Lebanese Le Réveil and in Israeli Ma'ariv. Most of the pictures represent Gemayel in a positive attitude, either as happy, joyous or as victorious (most pictures were taken right after the election). These contrast with the pictures of his burial, where large crowds are in mourning. Yet, in both, it is signalled that Gemayel had large groups of followers and admirors, and in both cases he is also literally carried 'on the hands' of his followers, in the first pictures alive and victorious, and the second pictures in his coffin. One AP-picture of the scene of the explosion is used very frequently, and seems to emphasize the seriousness of the bomb attack (ruins of the Falangist Headquarters) as well as the confusion of the public surrounding it.

A special analysis was made of the ways the newspapers cover the relations between the assassination and the invasion. Generally, as we saw before, they tend to 'neutrally' report the second event as 'following' (and not as 'caused by' --as the Israeli interpretation wants it) the first event. Indeed, most newspapers take the Israeli reasons either as a pretext for further control in Beirut, or simply hide their evaluation behind quotes of Israeli spokespersons. On the whole the third world newspapers seem to be somewhat more critical in their description of this link (they use the notion of 'pretext' more often). In a further analysis of quotation patterns in the news, it was for instance found that the third world press quotes Begin much less than the western press.

And generally, as may be expected, third world newspapers tend to quote western spokespersons less (e.g. Reagan), and third world spokespersons, such as Arafat more often (especially in the headlines). In a subsample studied (5 first and 5 third world papers), half of all quotes are based on Israeli and American sources, whereas this is only the case for 15% in third world newspapers.

Next, a comparison was made of international agency news, viz. that of Reuter, and the news items that are based on such dispatches. A detailed analysis of a series of news items revealed first that on the whole the newspapers rather faithfully reproduce the news from the dispatches, but they will do so usually for one or a few dispatches only, and not on the basis of all agency input. Most changes are slight stylistic adaptations, with only occasionally an interesting stylistic change which involves political or ideological attitudes (e.g. 'fighters' instead of 'guerrillas'). Next, of course, fragments are deleted in the final news items, and again, these are mostly background details, of which only sometimes significant ones from an ideological point of view (such as the omission of the information about the political history of Pierre Gemayel, the father of Bechir). We also compared news based on agency wires with news from the newspapers' own corespondents. This showed first that even when a newspaper has own correspondents in Beirut (like most large western newspapers), first spot news will tend to be taken fro[illegible]gencies, and only later follow-up and analysis from own correspondents. On the whole, there were no dramatic differences between agency and correspondent reports. They seem to follow the same overall news format, featuring the same topics, the same schema, and similar style. Differences appear mostly in 'local' details, such as descriptions of the bomb attack scene, and correspondents tend to exhibit more their detailed knowledge of the situation. They are more inclined to interview local people whom they quote in order to provide evaluations. The analysis of the international repercussions and other general background will in that case again be taken care of by staff writers or editors of the newspapers. Especially the French press appeared to have a number of correspondent reports that have a more personal, subjective or even literary style, describing the impression of the correspondent or others involved about the actual situation in Lebanon.

Comparison of newspaper news and agency news, however, was very partial (only one agency was studied, and only a few newspapers), because such analyses are highly time-consuming and meet with numerous practical difficulties, such as obtaining all the dispatches that have been put on the wires. So, further analysis will be necessary to make general conclusions about the use of agency news by the newspapers. Yet, from a quantitative point of view, our study has provided very clear results for this use of the international agencies. It was found that third world newspapers are much more dependent on agency news. For the events in Lebanon they predominantly use the dispatches of the Big Four, especially those of AP and AFP. Very few articles in third world newspapers are written by editors or come from correspondents. Indeed, when we merely use these numbers, we may conclude that indeed the third world papers are practically wholly dependent from the agencies for their international news.

Finally, we examined the editorials of a sub-sample of first and third world newspapers. Whereas in the coverage as a whole there are striking similarities, we found significant differences in these editorials. Indeed, given the prepackaged story of the international news agencies, it is the editorial where the newspaper can formulate its own perspectives on the news events. These differences in perspective may be based on regional, ideological, political or even socio-cultural grounds. Although there are certainly similarities in the interpretation of the 'facts', the evaluation of these facts and of the actors involved may be quite diverse. Thus, we may expect, and indeed found, that Arabic newspapers will be primarily concerned with the regional issue of the conflict in the Middle East in general. This means that they will generally be very critical of Israel, and be relatively positive about Gemayel, despite his admitted 'controversial' role and political past. Conservative newspapers, e.g. in Europe (but also in South America), are much less negative about Israel, and also relatively positive about Gemayel, in this case for ideological reasons: Gemayel and the Falange were the most clear opponents of leftist Moslems, the Syrians, and the PLO (and allies of Israel). Leftist and communist newspapers are generally negative about both Israel and Gemayel, as well as about the role of the USA. And finally, large part of both the first and the third world press take various intermediate positions, which are relatively critical of Gemayel and Israel, but also recognize that Gemayel had acquired a special role as possible peacemaker in Lebanon.

The true variety of the international press, indeed, seems to be most clearly expressed in its editorials. Unfortunately, most newspapers, especially in the third world, do not have the possibility to translate their attitudes in different ways of gathering, selecting and formulating the news. Without local correspondents and a large staff of writers, and without vast documentation facilities, most newspapers will be unable to precisely research the actual relationships between Gemayel, or the Falangist party, and the Israelis, and the same holds for the detailed local implications of Gemayel's election. This means that they must use the standard background stories provided by the news agencies. Such stories of course only portray part of the general picture. Thus, it will be mentioned that Gemayel had many enemies and that many Moslem groups opposed his election 'because they expected him to be a partisan candidate', but we read few details about the reasons of the leftist or Moslem groups which motivated their opposition (except for the actions of Gemayel in the civil war). It seems as if a widespread consensus, shared both in Arab and many western countries, about the role of Gemayel and based on a, at most sceptical, Realpolitik also finds its way in the newspaper attitudes about Gemayel: he may be controversial, or even ruthless, but he is nevertheless elected and the only one who in the actual situation can bring unity in the divided country. The articulation of the news and of its backgrounds is such that alternatives, or quite different positions, are receiving much less focus. In this way, the news --as provided by the agencies-- nevertheless controls the editorial attitudes.

3. Interpretation and Evaluation

Both our theoretical analysis and our empirical case study have provided us with a considerable number of detailed insights into the structures of international news. We have found for several levels of analysis how a news item is organized, how an international event such as the assassination of a president is described and formulated, and what kind of differences exist on these dimensions between newspapers or countries and regions. These insights have led us to conclude that despite variations there seems to be a general if not universal 'format' for the description of such events. Indeed, the structural similarities are such that we might speak of a consensual, shared set of news discourse rules that determine the contents, the global ordering, and the style of the news. Differences appeared to exist not so much between the (quality) newspapers of the third and the first world, but rather between quality newspapers and popular, mass newspapers. The latter have much shorter news items, which only cover the main event, omitting most of the background themes. Overall, the first world press has a somewhat larger coverage, and (therefore) also somewhat more space for background information. This difference can be easily explained by the fact they have more local correspondents in Beirut, and probably more staff writers and specialized editors. Third world newspapers were found to be very dependent for their news upon the news agencies, and it was shown that agency reports tend to be copied rather faithfully, but also that most agency reports and correspondent reports are rather similar in content, format and style. This again would explain the similarity between the news reports in different regions and newspapers of the world. Despite obvious differences of political or ideologogical background, which explains some notable differences in style and the description and quotation of actors, we may therefore assume that journalists seem to know these implicit rules that define a 'well-formed' news item. They know the relevance devices and the basic categories of a news schema, and will tend to collect, see and interpret information such that it fits such a schema.

Apart from general journalistic routines, there are of course other factors that explain the structural similarity of news across the world. One has just been mentioned, viz. the dependence on the news from the agencies. Many practical reasons will force editors to use the agency dispatches rather faithfully, making only choices, stylistic changes and deletions. This means that the implicit format of the news of the agencies has found wide currency in the world of journalism. News item structure as well as fundamental news values thereby become shared in many countries. Political and ideological differences will not so much be exhibited in the description of some international event, as in the choice of topics or the amount of coverage of certain issues. And finally, there is a journalistic tradition, established first in western countries, which is continued with both the agencies and the newspapers of the third world (in fact, many of these are still in the 'colonial' languages, and moulded after the newspapers in the colonial metropolis). Journalists of third world countries not only are confronted with this tradition, and not only with the implicit rules of news item production when reading agency news or the western press, but they often also have had their professional formation in these western countries. In other words, there are several independent but related factors that contribute to the global adoption and continuation of an implicit consensus about 'how to report about an international event'. Despite ideological differences in the evaluation of such events and situations, the overall pattern of perception is more or less the same. No newspaper, for example, would just mention the death of Gemayel and not the cause of his violent death, viz. the bomb explosion. And hardly any newspaper which brings any background will not mention the fact that Gemayel had been elected president and that he had many enemies who opposed his election. Indeed, the news and the events it describes,should have a minimum of 'intelligibility', which requires that after a violent death or an assassination 'causes' or 'reasons' are sought and expressed. The same holds for the important consequences, because these are the true measure for the seriousness of any international event. This standard format for the interpretation, however, is not just determined by the 'facts' or by cognitive universals. It is basically a social accomplishment, rooted in history, socio-economic factors, and professional routines. Thus, it is not 'necessary' to pay so much attention to the international reactions to an event. It is a socially determined value that political elites in the world are expressing and asked their reactions to such events by journalists. This also holds for other categories of news schemata, as well as for style conventions and rhetoric.

More than anything else, however, it is the very choice of topic that is determined by these shared conventions. The well-known set of news values indeed defines violent events, death, and the assassination of important political actors in politically important countries as a 'prime' event for coverage. Indeed, all the newspapers we examined carried the news of the assassination of Gemayel, mostly on the front page, and mention the major topics of the thematic structure of this story. It is however well-known that such a choice is not part of some universal 'logic of events': the death of thousands of other individuals in Lebanon (or elsewhere) is not routinely covered in the press, for various, also practical, reasons. And similarly, the information we read about Lebanon in our newspapers practically only covers the various aspects of the civil war and its political consequences, and hardly ever do we read about social, cultural or other types of events in that country. Once defined as part of the Middle-East drama, and as a link in the network in which also Israel and world powers such as the USA are entangled, it only receives interest from a very specific perspective: military, political, conflict, fighting, war, etc. And despite the differently motivated views on what should be covered by the news (e.g. issues of a more structural nature, such as development, positive results as well as the negative ones, more background and interpretation, etc.) , we can only conclude that 'hard' topics are (still) high on the top ten of news topics, at least in most countries of the world. In other words, besides a consensus of rules for standard news formats, we also find an implicit consensus (even when rejected in principle) about news values and the topics or news categories that derive from them.

No doubt that the assassination of a president-elect is an important political event, of possibly international relevance. And this explains large part of the universal coverage of such an event, even independently of differring news values or ideological perspectives. But the fact that this event is covered so prominently, in basically the same format, in nearly all news media of the world, is an interesting, if not fascinating, phenomenon of global communication and information. Without mutual contacts, many editors put it on the front page, write comparable headlines and leads, bring the event in a similar schema, or even use the same style, also when they do not use the same (agency) sources. This means that the rules of the consensus, and the routines of the job, must have powerful socio-cultural roots in a widespread news ideology. Whatever the historical determination, and despite colonial and neo-colonial diffusion of this ideology, we may also conclude that part of this implicit, professional, news 'theory' is no longer just a 'western' product.

The UNESCO-debate has shown that the dominant news ideology is not just a set of handy professional rules of the trade, however. In our study we have shown that it is a powerful framework for the detection, representation and distribution of interpretations of what happens in the world. The similarity, if not the homogeneity or even the stereotypical, of the news are not only an interesting socio-cultural phenomenon, but maybe even a frightening form of standardization of how we get to know the events in the world, wherever we live. And whereas part of this standard is innocent or even practical (not any journalist could try to invent new methods in any new situation), other dimensions of the dominant consensus have been shown to be more damaging. They need not be repeated here. They are well-known, if not always agreed upon. The same 'standard' view, for instance, will cover third world countries and events within widely shared stereotypical perspectives that have dominated western news, and which can easily be explained in terms of power, interests, or ethnocentrism of those who control and work for the media. This analysis cannot be pursued in more detail here. We have contributed only one aspect to it, viz. some insights into the actual structures of international news. We have tried to uncover the underlying rules of the news format as it seems to be shared nearly universally. This suggests that a few cosmetic changes in the news about the world cannot be but superficial, because the system of news strategies and rules is highly complex, deeply rooted in discourse and professional routines or practices, and inextricably entangled in a web of ideologically controlled frameworks of how we, after the journalist, see the world.

For most newspapers in the world, this means that they can only formulate their own opinion in separate editorials. And we found that this is indeed the case: regional interests, political affiliations, and ideological convictions will in that case provide the criteria that determine the evaluation of the major news actors. Yet, we have also argued that this editorial freedom is limited. It is bound by the constraints set by the coverage of the story and its backgrounds by the international news agencies. This does not mean that agency material is always and necessarily biased in a specific direction. Rather it is an expression of a widespread, social and ideological consensus about what events are important, what actors are prominent and what backgrounds are relevant. Alternative interpretations and evaluations of the news events also need details about 'alternative facts', viz. the things the news agencies tend to ignore or to briefly summarize. An independent newspaper opinion, therefore, must be limited to a brief editorial. It may at most influence some of the selection processes and determine a few stylistic changes. But it cannot basically change the news reports themselves, simply due to a lack of information. The main victims of those limitations are the third world newspapers, because they predominantly get their news from the agencies, and most of them do not have their own correspondents on the spot or editors that have the opportunity to do complex historical and and political research into the backgrounds of a story developing thousands of miles away.

From this interpretation of our results it has become apparent that there are two major factors that determine the contents, the format and the style of international news in the press, namely, the international consensus of implicit news structure rules, on the one hand, and the role of the international agencies, on the other. However, further analysis has shown that these two factors are inextricably interrelated, if not merging into just one factor. If there is a global consensus about the fundamentals of news reporting, it is established, propagated or even imposed by the international agencies and the newspapers or journalists associated with them. It is this connection between news consensus and news agencies which has been challenged and rejected by many representatives of third world countries, and at least questioned by more liberal or progressive groups in first world countries. Yet, such a challenge can be succesful only if there are alternatives, and these are to be worked out and established, just as the dominant consensus is the result of socio-economic and political power, by a redistribution in the balance of power. Our study cannot make recommendations for the strategies of such a goal. Yet, it has provided some analytical instruments, as well as concrete results from a case study about the international coverage of a news event, that allow us to assess more precisely whether and to what extent international news has become a standard product. Details of such an insight are necessary conditions for the preparation and execution of alternatives in the production of news.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. List of regions, countries and newspapers and the frequencies and languages of articles scored about the events in Lebanon

(Compiled by Piet de Geus)

	N of articles scored				Language
	15	16	17	Tot.	
A. NORTH AMERICA					
1. Canada					
102 Ottowa Citizen	2	2	2	6	English
2. U.S.A.					
202 Los Angeles Times	3	4	5	12	English
203 St. Louis Post-Dispatch	3	4	0	7	English
205 The New York Times	5	8	5	18	English
206 The Wall Street Journal	1	3	0	4	English
TOTAL REGION	14	21	12	47	
B. CENTRAL AMERICA					
9. Cuba					
901 Granma	1	1	1	3	Spanish
11. El Salvador					
1101 El Diario de Hoy	1	1	1	3	Spanish
14. Guatemala					
1401 Diario el Grafico	3	4	5	12	Spanish
1402 El Imperial	0	2	5	7	Spanish
17. Jamaica					
1701 Daily Gleaner	1	2	0	3	English
19. Mexico					
1901 Excelsior	2	0	4	6	Spanish
1902 Uno Más Uno	1	0	2	3	Spanish
21. Nigaragua					
2101 Barricada	2	3	2	7	Spanish
2102 El Nuevo Diario	3	0	2	5	Spanish
2103 La Prensa	0	2	2	4	Spanish
23. Puerto Rico					
2301 El Mundo	1	2	1	4	Spanish
TOTAL REGION	15	17	25	57	

	N of articles scored				Language
	15	16	17	Tot.	
C. SOUTH AMERICA					
30. Argentina					
3002 La Prensa	1	0	0	1	Spanish
3003 La Razon	0	0	1	1	Spanish
32. Brazil					
3201 Jornal do Brasil	1	1	0	2	Portugese
3202 O Estado de Sao Paulo	2	1	0	3	Portugese
3203 O Globo	1	1	0	2	Portugese
33. Chile					
3301 El Mercurio	2	3	1	6	Spanish
34. Colombia					
3401 El Tiempo	2	3	1	6	Spanish
35. Ecuador					
3501 El Comercio	1	7	4	12	Spanish
38. Paraguay					
3801 ABC Color	3	2	7	12	Spanish
41. Urugay					
4101 El Dia	5	4	7	16	Spanish
42. Venezuela					
4201 The Daily Journal	1	3	4	8	English
4203 El Nacional	1	2	2	5	Spanish
4204 El Universal	1	10	0	11	Spanish
TOTAL REGION	21	37	27	85	

D. WESTERN EUROPE					
43. Austria					
4302 Die Presse	1	3	0	4	German
4303 Salzburger Nachrichten	1	3	0	4	German
44. Belgium					
4401 Het Laatste Nieuws	1	5	1	7	Dutch
4403 Le Soir	2	8	3	13	French
45. Denmark					
4501 Berlingske Tidende	0	3	2	5	Danish
4502 Information	1	0	2	3	Danish
5403 Politiken	1	2	1	4	Danish

(Continued)

	N of articles scored				Language
	15	16	17	Tot.	
D. WESTERN EUROPE (Cont.)					
46. England					
4601 Daily Express	1	1	1	3	English
4602 Daily Mail	0	1	1	2	English
4603 Daily Mirror	0	1	1	2	English
4605 The Daily Telegraph	1	6	2	9	English
4606 The Guardian	1	6	2	9	English
4607 Morning Star	1	1	0	2	English
4609 Sing Tao	0	2	0	2	English
4611 The Times	1	7	0	8	English
48. France					
4801 Le Figaro	2	0	0	2	French
4802 France-Soir	1	4	1	6	French
4804 International Herald Tribune	2	5	1	8	French
4805 Liberation	2	1	0	3	French
4807 Le Monde	0	10	5	15	French
49. Greece					
4901 Akropolis	0	1	1	2	Greek
4903 Kathimerini	0	1	1	2	Greek
50. Iceland					
5001 Morgunbladid	1	4	3	8	Icelandic
51. Ireland					
5101 The Irish Times	3	0	0	3	English
52. Italy					
5201 Corriere della Sera	1	1	0	2	Italian
5204 La Repubblica	1	1	0	2	Italian
5205 La Stampa	1	1	0	2	Italian
5206 L'Unità	1	1	0	2	Italian
54. The Netherlands					
5401 Algemeen Dagblad	1	7	2	10	Dutch
5402 NRC Handelsblad	4	3	4	11	Dutch
5404 De Telegraaf	1	1	1	3	Dutch
5405 Trouw	1	2	0	3	Dutch
5406 De Volkskrant	1	4	0	5	Dutch
5407 De Waarheid	1	1	0	2	Dutch
56. Portugal					
5601 A Capital	1	0	0	1	Portugese
5603 Diário de Noticias	1	1	0	2	Portugese
5604 Diário Popular	1	1	0	2	Portugese

(Continued)

	N of articles scored				Language
	15	16	17	Tot.	
D. WESTERN EUROPE (Cont.)					
57. Spain					
5701 ABC	1	1	0	2	Spanish
5702 Diario de Barcelona	1	0	0	1	Spanish
5703 Diario 16	0	1	0	1	Spanish
5704 El Pais	4	10	0	14	Spanish
5705 La Vanguardia	1	1	0	2	Spanish
5706 Ya	0	2	1	3	Spanish
58. Sweden					
5801 Dagens Nyheter	1	1	4	6	Swedish
5802 Svenska Dagbladet	1	6	2	9	Swedish
60. Turkey					
6002 Milliyet	1	5	3	9	Turkish
6003 Tercüman	1	1	1	3	Turkish
61. West-Germany					
6101 Bild	0	2	1	3	German
6102 Frankfurter Allgemeine	0	5	1	6	German
6103 Frankfurter Rundschau	0	2	2	4	German
6104 Süddeutsche Zeitung	0	3	1	4	German
6105 Die Welt	0	3	2	5	German
TOTAL REGION	50	142	53	245	
E. EASTERN EUROPE					
62. Albania					
6201 Zeri i Popullit	0	1	1	2	Albanian
64. Czechoslovakia					
6401 Rude Pravo	0	1	1	2	Czech
6402 Prace	0	1	1	2	Czech
65. DDR					
6501 Neues Deutschland	0	3	5	8	German
6502 Tribüne	0	2	1	3	German
6503 Unsere Zeit	0	1	0	1	German
66. Hungary					
6601 Népszabadság	0	1	1	2	Hungarian
67. Poland					
6701 Trybuna Ludu	1	1	1	3	Polish
68. Romania					
6801 Neuerweg	0	1	0	1	German

(Continued)

	N of articles scored				Language
	15	16	17	Tot.	
E. EASTERN EUROPE (Cont.)					
69. U.S.S.R.					
6901 Izvestia	0	0	1	1	Russian
6902 Pravda	0	1	0	1	Russian
70. Yugoslavia					
7001 Borba	0	0	1	1	Serbo-Croat
7004 Politika	0	1	0	1	Serbo-Croat
TOTAL REGION	1	14	13	28	
F. MIDDLE EAST / NORTH AFRICA					
71. Algeria					
7101 El Moudjahid	1	3	9	13	French
75. Iran					
7501 Kayhan International	1	6	0	7	English
7504 Teheran Times	1	1	0	2	English
77. Israel					
7701 Ha'arets	1	10	0	11	Hebrew
7703 Ma'ariv	3	2	0	5	Hebrew
80. Lebanon					
8004 Le Réveil	10	19	25	54	French
82. Morocco					
8201 Al Alam	0	1	0	1	French
8203 L'Opinion	0	6	5	11	French
83. Qatar					
8301 Daily Gulf Times	2	3	0	5	English
TOTAL REGION	19	51	39	109	

	N of articles scored				Language
	15	16	17	Tot.	
G. AFRICA					
90. Angola					
9001 Jornal de Angola	0	1	0	1	Portugese
97. Congo (People's Republic of the)					
9701 Mweti	0	0	1	1	French
106. Ivory Coast					
10601 Fraternité Matin	1	7	4	12	French
107. Kenya					
10701 Daily Nation	1	4	1	6	English
110. Madagaskar					
11003 Matin	0	3	2	5	French
117. Nigeria					
11701 Daily Times	0	1	2	3	English
120. Senegal					
12001 Le Soleil	2	12	0	14	French
131. Upper Volta					
13101 L'Observateur	0	1	0	[illegible]	French
132. Zaire					
13201 Bulletin Quotidien (AZAP)	0	1	1	2	French
133. Zambia					
13301 Times of Zambia	1	4	0	5	English
13302 Zambia Daily Mail	0	1	1	2	English
135. South-Africa					
13501 Rand Daily Mail	1	1	3	5	English
13502 Die Burger	1	2	2	5	Afrikaans
TOTAL REGION	7	38	17	62	
H. SOUTH ASIA					
140. Bangladesh					
14001 The Bangladesh Observer	1	1	4	6	English
14003 The Daily Ittefaq	1	1	0	2	Bengali
141. India					
14102 India Express	1	4	0	5	English
14104 The Statesman	1	1	1	3	English
142. Pakistan					
14101 Dawn	1	3	6	10	English
TOTAL REGION	5	10	11	26	

	N or articles scored				Language
	15	16	17	Tot.	
I **EAST/SOUTH EAST ASIA**					
146. **China (People's Republic of)**					
14601 Renmin Ribao	0	1	1	2	Chinese
148. **Indonesia**					
14801 Berita Buana	1	0	0	1	Indonesian
14802 Indonesian Observer	0	5	5	10	English
14803 The Indonesia Times	0	1	3	4	English
14805 Suara Karaya	0	0	3	3	Indonesian
149. **Japan**					
14901 Asahi Shimbun	0	2	2	4	Japanese
14902 Mainichi Shimbun	0	3	0	3	Japanese
151. **Korea** (Republic of)					
15101 The Chosun Ilbo	0	1	0	1	Korean
15102 The Dong-A-Ilbo	1	0	0	1	Korean
15103 The Korea Herald	0	3	0	3	English
154. **Malaysia**					
15401 New Straits Times	0	4	3	7	English
159. **Philippines**					
15903 People's Journal	0	1	1	2	English
160. **Singapore**					
16001 The Straits Times	0	2	0	2	English
161. **Taiwan**					
16101 The China Times	0	2	1	3	Chinese
162. **Thailand**					
16201 Bangkok Post	1	2	4	7	English
TOTAL REGION	3	27	23	53	
J **OCEANIA**					
171. **Australia**					
17101 The Age	0	5	2	7	English
175. **New Zealand**					
17501 The New Zealand Herald	0	1	3	4	English
17502 The Evening Post	1	3	2	6	English
TOTAL REGION	1	9	7	17	

APPENDIX 2. Alphabetical* List of newspapers collected for for the case study about Lebanon. Starred newspapers have been actually used for analysis (see Appendix 1).

(Compiled by Piet de Geus)

*ABC (5701, Spain)

*ABC Color (3801, Paraguay)

Addis Zemen (9901, Ethiopia)

Aftenposten (5501, Norway)

*Age, the (17101, Australia)

*Akropolis (4901, Greece)

*Al Alam (8201, Morocco)
Al Alam (8001, Lebanon)
Al Amal (8601, Tunesia)

Al Anwar (8006, Lebanon)

Al Baath (8501, Syria)

Al Gomhouriya (7404, Egypt)

Al Missa (7403, Egypt)

Al-Ahram (7402, Egypt)

Al-Anba (7902, Kuwait)
Al-Anwar (8006, Lebanon)
Al-Arab (4612, England)

Al-Hadaf (7902, Kuwait)
Al Thawra (8502, Syria)
*Algemeen Dagblad (5401, The Netherlands)

Almaghrib (8202, Morocco)

Amigoe (2001, Netherlands Antilles)

An Nahar (8002, Lebanon)

As-Safir (8005, Lebanon)

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*Alphabetization has disregarded the (in-)definite articles of western languages (such as The, A, Le, La, Les, Il, El, or O), except when connected to the main name with an apostrophe (as in L'Humanité). Arabic articles (mainly Al and El) have not been ignored (due to their different assimilated forms): these newspapers appear under the first letter of their article. Names of newspapers in languages with other than a latin alphabet have been given in latin transcription.

*Asahi Shimbun (14901, Japan)

Ath-Thawra (7601, Iraq)

Australian Financial Review, the (17103, Australia)

Australian, the (17102, Australia)

*Bangkok Post, the (16201, Thailand)

*Bangladesh Observer, the (14001, Bangladesh)

*Barricada (2101, Nicaragua)

*Berita Buana (14801, Indonesia)

Berita Yudha (14810, Indonesia)

*Berlingske Tidende (4501, Denmark)

*Bild (6101, West-Germany)

*Borba (7001, Yugoslavia)

*Bulletin Quotidien (13201, Zaire)

Bulletin Today (15901, Philippines)

*Burger, die (13502, South-Africa)

Cameroon Tribune (9401, Cameroon)

*Capital, A (5601, Portugal)

*China Times, the (16101, Taiwan)

*Chosun Ilbo, the (15101, Republic of Korea)

Christian Science Monitor, the (201, U.S.A)

*Comercio , el (3501, Ecuador)

*Corriere della Sera (5201, Italy)

*Dagens Nyheter (5801, Sweden)

*Daily Express (4601, England)

Daily Express (15902, Philippines)

*Daily Gleaner, the (1701, Jamaica)

Daily Graphic (10301, Ghana)
*Daily Gulf Times (8301, Qatar)
*Daily Ittefaq, the (14003, Bangladesh)

*Daily Journal, the (4201, Venezuela)

*Daily Mail (4602, England)

*Daily Mirror (4603, England)

*Daily Nation (10701, Kenya)

Daily News (12701, Tanzania)

Daily News, (14302, Sri Lanka)

Daily News (16202, Thailand)

Daily Observer (10901, Liberia)

Daily Star (4601, England)

*Daily Telegraph, the (4605 England)

Daily Telegraph, the (17104, Australia)

*Daily Times (11701, Nigeria)

Davasa (14301, Sri Lanka)

*Dawn (14201, Pakistan)

Dépêche de Tahiti, la (17801, Tahiti)

*Dia, el (4101, Uruguay)

Diario de Caracas, el (4202, Venezuela)

*Diario de Hoy, el (1101, El Salvador)

*Diario el Grafico (1401, Guatemala)

*Diario 16 (5703, Spain)

*Diario de Barcelona (5702, Spain)

Diario de Lisboa (5602, Portugal)

*Diario de Noticias (5603, Portugal)

*Diario Popular (5604, Portugal)

*Dong-A-Ilbo, the (15102, Republic of Korea)

Egyptian Gazette, the (7405, Egypt)

El Ayam (12501, Sudan)

El Fajer al Jadid (8102, Libya)

El Sahafa (12502, Sudan)

El Seyassah (7904, Kuwait)

*El Moudjahid (7101, Algeria)

Elima (13203, Zaire)

*Estado de São Paulo, o (3202, Brazil)

Ethiopian Herald, the (9902, Ethiopia)

*Evening Post, the (17502, New Zealand)

*Excelsior (1901, Mexico)

*Figaro, le (4801, France)

*France-Soir (4802, France)

France -Antilles (1801, Martinique)

*Frankfurter Allgemeine (6102, West-Germany)

*Frankfurter Rundschau (6103, West-Germany)

*Fraternité Matin (10601, Ivory Coast)

Gazette, the (101, Canada)

Ghanaian Times (10302, Ghana)

*Globo, o (3203, Brazil)

*Granma (901, Cuba)

*Guardian, the (4606, England)

Guyana Chronicle (3701, Guyana)

*Ha'aretz (7701, Israel)

Helsingin Sanomat (4701, Finland)

Herald, the (13401, Zimbabwe)
Hoy Miércoles (3503, Ecuador)
Hufvudstadsbladet (4702, Finland)
Hurriıȷet (6001, Turkey)
Imongo Vacvao (11001, Madagascar)
*Impareial el (1402, Guatemala)
*India Express (14102, India)
*Indonesia Times, the (14803, Indonesia)
*Indonesian Observer (14802, Indonesia)
*Information (4502, Denmark)
*International Herald Tribune (4804, France)
*Irish Times, the (5101, Ireland)
*Izvestia (6901, U.S.S.R.)
*Jornal de Angola (9001, Angola)
*Jornal do Brasil (3201, Brazil)
Jumhuri-ye-Islami (7501, Iran)
Kansan Uutiset (4703, Finland)
*Kathimerini (4903, Greece)
Kayhan (7503, Iran)
*Kayhan International (7502, Iran)
Kedaulatan Rakyat (14808, Indonesia)
Kompas (14809, Indonesia)
*Korea Herald, the (15103, Republic of Korea)
Korea Herald International, the (15104, Republic of Korea)
Kurier (4301, Austria)
L'Humanité (4803, France)
*L' Observateur (13101, Upper Volta)

*L'Opinion (8203, Morocco)
L'Orient-Le Jour (8003, Lebanon)
*L'Unità (5206, Italy)
*Laatste Nieuws, het (4401, Belgium)
*Liberation (4805, France)
Liberian Inaugural, the (10902, Liberia)
Libre Belgique, la (4402, Belgium)
Lina Bulletin (10903, Liberia)
*Los Angeles Times (202, USA)
*Ma'ariv (7703, Israel)
*Mainichi Shimbun (14902, Japan)
Mañana, la (4103, Urugay)
Manifesto, il (5202, Italy)
Maresaka, (11002, Madagaskar)
*Matin (11003, Madagaskar)

*Mercurio, el (3301, Chile)
Merdeka (14804, Indonesia)
*Milliıȷet (6002, Turkey)
Mirror (10904, Liberia)
*Monde, le (4807, France)
*Morgunbladid (5001, Iceland)
*Morning Star (4607, England)
*Mundo, el (Puerto Rico)
*Mweti (9701, People's Republic of the Congo)
*Nacional, el (4203, Venezuela)
Nation Review, the (16203, Thailand)

*Népszabadság (6601, Hungary)

Neue Zürcher Zeitung (5901, Switzerland)

*Neuerweg (6801, Romania)

*Neues Deutschland (6501, DDR)

New Liberian, the (10905, Liberia)

New Nigerian (11702, Nigeria)

*New Straits Times (15401, Malaysia)

*New York Times, the (205, USA)

*New Zealand Herald, the (17501, New Zealand)

Nhân Dân (16301, Vietnam)

Nihon Keizai Shimbun (14903, Japan)

*NRC -Handelsblad (5402, The Netherlands)

*Nuevo Diario , el (2102, Nicaragua)

Oslobodenje (7002, Yugoslavia)

*Ottowa Citizen (102, Canada)

Paese Sera (5203, Italy)

*Pais, el (5704, Spain)

Pais, el (4102, Urugay)

Parool, het (5403, The Netherlands)

Pelita (14807, Indonesia)

*People's Journal (15903, Philippines)

*Politika (7003, Yugoslavia)

Politika Express (7003, Yugoslavia)

*Politiken (4503, Denmark)

*Prace (6402, Czechoslaovakia)

*Pravda (6902, U.S.S.R.)

*Prensa, la (2103, Nicaragua)

*Prensa, la (3002, Argentina)

Prensa Libre (1403, Guatemala)
Presencia (3101, Bolivia)
*Presse, die (4302, Austria)

*Rand Daily Mail (13501, South-Africa)

*Razon, la (3003, Argentina)

*Renmin Ribao (14601, People's Republic of China)

*Repubblica (5204, Italy)

*Réveil, le (8004, Lebanon)

*Rude Pravo (6401, Czechoslovakia)

Sahel, le (11601, Niger)

Salongo (13204, Zaire)

Salongo Selection (13205, Zaire)

*Salzburger Nachrichten (4303, Austria)

Saturday Express (10906, Liberia)

Scinteia (6802, Romania)

Sian Rath (16204, Thailand)

*Sing Tao (4609, England)

Sihar Harapan (14806, Indonesia)

*Soir, le (4[illegible] Belgium)

*Soleil, le (12001, Senegal)

*St. Louis Post-Dispatch (203, USA)

*Stampa, la (5205, Italy)

*Statesman, the (14104, India)

*Straits Times, the (16001, Singapore)

*Suara Karaya (14805, Indonesia)

Sudan News Agency (12504, Sudan)

*Süddeutsche Zeitung (6104, West-Germany)

Sun (14303, Sri Lanka)
Sun, the (17105, Australia)
Sun, the (4610, England)
Sun News Pictorial, the (17106, Australia)
*Svenska Dagbladet (5802, Sweden)
Sydney Morning Herald, the (17107)
Syria Times (8503, Syria)
Ta Nea (4904, Greece)
*Teheran Times (7504, Iran)
*Telegraaf, de (5404, The Netherlands)
*Tercûman (6003, Turkey)
Thai Rath (16205, Thailand)
Tishrin (8504, Syria)
*Tiempo, el (3401, Colombia)
Tiempo, el (3502, Equador)
*Times, the (4611, England)
Times Journal (15904, Philippines)
Times of India, the (15904, India)
*Times of Zambia (13301, Zambia)
*Tribûne (6502, DDR)
*Trouw (5405, The Netherlands)
Trud (6903, U.S.S.R.)
*Trybuna Ludu (6701, Poland)
*Universal, el (4204, Venezuela)
*Uno Más Uno (1902, Mexico)
Uno Pintcha (10501, Guinea Bissau)
*Unsere Zeit (6503, DDR)
*Vanguardia, la (5705, Spain)
Vecernje Novosti (7005, Yugoslavia)
Virakesari (14304, Sri Lanka)
*Volkskrant, de (5406, The Netherlands)
Vozdipovo (9501, Cape Verde Islands)
Vrije Stem (4001, Surinam)
*Waarheid, de (5407, The Netherlands)
*Wall Street Journal, the (206, USA)
Ware Tijd, de (4002, Surinam)
*Welt, die (6105, West-Germany)
*Ya (5706, Spain)
Yedioth Ahronoth (7704, Israel)
*Zambia Daily Mail (13302, Zambia)
*Zeri i Popullit (6201, Albania)

APPENDIX 3 LIST OF COUNTRIES[a]

*	62	Albania
*	71	Algeria
*	90	Angola
*	30	Argentina
*	171	Australia
*	43	Austria
*	140	Bangladesh
*	44	Belgium
	31	Bolivia
*	32	Brazil
*	1	Canada
	95	Cape Verde Islands
*	33	Chile
*	146	China, People's Republic of
*	34	Colombia
*	97	Congo, People's Republic of
*	9	Cuba
*	64	Czechoslovakia
*	65	DDR (East Germany)
*	45	Denmark
	74	Egypt
*	46	England
*	35	Ecuador
	99	Ethiopia
	47	Finland
*	48	France
	103	Ghana
*	49	Greece
*	14	Guatemala
*	105	Guinea Bissau
	37	Guyana
*	66	Hungary

*	50	Iceland
*	141	India
*	148	Indonesia
*	75	Iran
	76	Iraq
*	51	Ireland
*	77	Israel
*	52	Italy
*	106	Ivory Coast
*	17	Jamaica
*	149	Japan
*	107	Kenya
*	151	Korea, Republic of
	79	Kuwait
*	80	Lebanon
	109	Liberia
	81	Libya
*	110	Madagascar
*	154	Malaysia
	18	Martinique
*	19	Mexico
*	82	Morocco
	114	Mozambique
	20	Netherlands Antilles
*	54	Netherlands, the
*	175	New Zealand
*	21	Nicaragua
	116	Niger
*	117	Nigeria
	55	Norway
*	142	Pakistan
*	38	Paraguay

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[a] This List of countries contains the names of countries from which we have newspapers as part of our data-base. Starred are those countries from which at least one newspaper has been actually analyzed. The numbers are code numbers.

APPENDIX 3 (Continued)

*	39	Peru
*	159	Philippines
*	67	Poland
*	56	Portugal
*	23	Puerto Rico
*	83	Qatar
*	68	Romania
*	11	Salvador, el
*	120	Senegal
*	160	Singapore
*	135	South Africa
*	57	Spain
	143	Sri Lanka
	125	Sudan
	40	Surinam
*	58	Sweden
	59	Switzerland
	85	Syria
	178	Tahiti
	161	Taiwan
	127	Tanzania
*	162	Thailand
	85	Tunesia
*	60	Turkey
*	2	U.S.A.
*	69	U.S.S.R.
*	131	Upper Volta
*	41	Uruguay
*	42	Venezuela
	163	Vietnam
*	61	West-Germany (BRD)
*	70	Yugoslavia
*	132	Zaire
*	133	Zambia
	134	Zimbabwe

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank the following persons and institutions for their collaboration in the preparation of this study.

Diplomatic Representives of The Netherlands in:

Ecuador
Sudan
Cameroon
Ivory Coast
Niger
Zaire
Kuwait
Syria
Liberia
Ethiopia
Surinam
Sri Lanka
Zambia
Upper Volta
Zimbabwe
Iran
Libya
Nigeria
Lebanon
Tanzania
Uruguay
Thailand
Guatemala

Diplomatic Representives in The Netherlands and Europe of:

Cuba
Nicaragua
Urugay
Venezuela
Austria
Algeria
Iran (Brussels)
Iraq
Morocco
South Africa
Bangladesh (Brussels)
People's Republic of China
Indonesia
Japan
Republic of Korea
Pakistan
Philippines
Thailand
Vietnam (Paris)
Australia
New Zealand
Tonga (London)
Upper Volta (Paris)
Brazil

The Editors of the following newspapers:

The Christian Science Monitor (U.S.A.)
Los Angeles Times (U.S.A.)
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
The New York Times (U.S.A.)
The Wall Street Journal (U.S.A.)
The Gazette (Canada)
Ottowa Citizen (Canada)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS (Continued)

El Diario de Hoy (El Salvador)
Daily Gleaner/Sunday Gleaner (Jamaica)
France-Antilles (Martinique)
Barricada (Nicaragua)
El Mundo (Puerto Rico)
Jornal do Brasil (Brazil)
O Estado de Sao Paulo (Brazil)
El Mercurio (Chile)
El Tiempo (Colombia)
El Dia (Uruguay)
Het Laatste Nieuws (Belgium)
La Libre Belgique (Belgium)
Berlingske Tidende (Denmark)
Information (Denmark)
Politiken (Denmark)
Daily Express (England)
Daily Mirror (England)
The Guardian (England)
Morning Star (England)
The Observer (England)
The Sun (England)
L'Humanité (France)
Ta Nea (Greece)
Morgunbladid (Iceland)
The Irish Times (Ireland)
Corriera della Sera (Italy)
Il Manifesto (Italy)
La Repubblica (Italy)
L'Unità (Italy)
Aftenposten (Norway)
Diário de Lisboa (Portugal)
El Pais (Spain)
La Vanguardia (Spain)
Dagens Nyheter (Sweden)
Svenska Dagbladet (Sweden)
Neue Zürcher Zeitung (Switzerland)
Frankfurter Allgemeine (West Germany)
Süddeutsche Zeitung (West Germany)
Zeri i Popullit (Albania)
Neues Deutschland (DDR)
Tribüne (DDR)
Népszabadság (Hungary)
Al Missa (Egypt)
Al-Gomhouriya (Egypt)
The Egyptian Gazette (Egypt)
Kayhan International (Iran)
Ath-Thawra (Iraq)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS (Continued)

Yedioth Ahronoth (Israel)
Ha'arets (Israel)
L'Orient-Le Jour (Lebanon)
Le Reveil (Lebanon)
Al Alam (Morocco)
L'Opinion (Morocco)
Daily Gulf Times
Daily Nation (Kenya)
Daily Times (Nigeria)
Rand Daily Mail (South Africa)
The Bangladesh Observer (Bangladesh)
The Daily Ittefaq (Bangladesh)
Renmin Ribao (People's Republic of China)
The Statesman (India)
Mainichi Shimbun (Japan)
New Straits Times (Malaysia)
Daily News (Sri Lanka)
The China Times (Taiwan)
Thai Rath (Thailand)
The Daily Telegraph (Australia)
The Sun (Australia)
The Sun News Pictorial (Australia)
The New Zealand Herald (New Zealand)
La Dépêche de Tahiti (Tahiti)

Airlines

Aerolineas Argentinas
Finnair
TAP Portugese Airlines
Iberia
Aeroflot
Jugoslovenski Aerotransport
Saudi Arabian Airlines
Tunis Air
Air-India
Garuda Indonesian Airways
Japanese Airways
Korean Airlines
Philippine Airlines
Singapore Airlines
Thai Airways
Quantas
Turkish Airlines

The editors of the following newsagencies

AFP (The Hague)
UPI (London)
DPA (Hamburg)
REUTERS (London)
IPS (Rome)
AP (Amsterdam)
ANP (The Hague)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS (Continued)

Libraries and Institutions

SAGO, Documentation Department (Antwerp)
The Public Library of the City of Amsterdam
Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (Leiden)
Library of the Dutch Royal Institute for the Tropics (Amsterdam)
Turkish Information Office (Amsterdam)

Our special thanks go to the following volunteers.

Willy Groenewold, Coen Mulder, Judith Junger and Rob de Jong for scoring newspaper articles.
Dr. B.C.A. Walraven (University of Leiden) for translating several articles from Korean newspapers.
Marjolein van Voorthuisen for processing the larger part of the data into the computer.
To a number of (anonymous) translators who helped us translate articles from Turkish, Japanese, Greek, and a number of Slavic languages.

Participants of two seminars held on the project.

(Names of students whose work has been used and mentioned in this case study, have been starred).

Annette van Beugen
Sylvia Blanken
Anneke Blokland
Arjan van der Boon
*Eric Borsje
Annemarie van Bosch
Monique Ettema
*Ton van Golde
*Eleonora Grapperhaus
Gert-Willem Hartmans
Annette van den Hogen
Marijke Haanraadts
Jaap-Jan de Jong
Kees Keijzer
Juliette Koning
Bert Kuipers
Dirk Monster
Rob Muller
Johan Oostlander
Anne Römer
Jeroen de Rooij
*Winnifred Rook
*Koos Schwartz
Lidwien Schweitzer
Fanny Spijker
Marleen Swenne
Pauline Veenhuizen
Marlies Wessels
Chiel de Wit
Madu Augustine
*Bart van der Bijl
*Inge Boer
Joost van den Brekel
Lurdes Casanova
Liesbeth Dekker
Saskia Glazenburg
Aleid Horjus
*Rob de Jong
Eva Stegemann
Marjolijn Wesselo
Tine Sman

NOTES

These notes have mainly a bibliographical function. They provide a few references for further reading about the issues raised in this report. Yet, since for most of these issues there is a substantial academic as well as a more political and journalistic literature, we only mention the most relevant work in each field.

Chapter 1

1. For an analysis of the kind of imbalances in the international distribution of information in general, and of news in particular, see the report of the UNESCO commission chaired by MacBride, *Many Voices, One World* (UNESCO, 1980). This report combines political discussion with more academic research results, and gives a good impression of the debate of the past decade. The collective volume, edited by Richstad & Anderson (1981), provides further discussion and backgrounds about the role of international news in this debate, again both from a more political or journalistic and from a more academic point of view. This book also reprints an informative article by Gerbner & Marvanyi, first published in 1977, about foreign news coverage in several regions of the world. See also the essays in Atwood, Bullion & Murphy, eds. (1982), Righter (1978), Smith (1980) and Schiller (1973, 1976), to name only a few books.

2. There is as yet little work about the cognitive processes involved in the reading, understanding, memorization and (re-)production of news. Van Dijk & Kintsch (1983) provide a general model of (strategic) discourse understanding, illustrated througout on a news text from *Newsweek*. The only rather complete monograph is Höijer & Findahl's (1984) doctoral dissertation, which is however in Swedish (with an English summary and a rich bibliography). A brief account of their earlier work has appeared in Findahl & Höijer (1981). Their work is predominantly based on TV news. Larsen (1980), within the same theoretical framework, studied memory for radion news. See also the work by Gunter, e.g. Gunter(1979).

Chapter 2

1. Our quantitative analysis in this chapter is meant to be merely indicative of the frequencies and size of various aspects of the news in the world's press about the assassination of Gemayel. The kind of data, as well as the nature and the limitations of our scoring procedures, are such that the simple descriptive statistics we provide should not be considered as definite research results.

Chapter 3

1. As journalists professionally know, headlines have many important functions. Much like titles in general, they express semantic macrostructures, and hence are fundamental in the cognitive processing of news. They prominently function as signals to the reader about the 'preferred' reading and interpretation of a news item. Psychological work has shown that titles play a decisive role in the understanding and memorization, especially of ambiguous or vague texts. See e.g. Kieras (1978), Kozminsky (1977), Bransford & Johnson (1972) and Schwarz & Flammer (1981).

2. Some of the work in Artificial Intelligence, such as programming the way readers summarize or skim contents, has also been applied to the news. See e.g. DeJong (1977).

Chapter 4

1. The notion of 'schema' has received vast attention in psychology and AI in the last decade. Its most influential historical source is the work by Bartlett (1932), taken up half a century later in e.g. Norman & Rumelhart, eds. (1975) under the same name, by Minsky (1975) as 'frame' and by Schank & Abelson (1977) as 'script' (although these authors make differences between the notions involved. For the role of schemata in cogntive processes of discourse comprehension, see Graesser (1981) and van Dijk & Kintsch (1983).

The notion of schema has now also found its way in social psychology, especially in work on social cognition. See e.g. Hastie(1981) and Taylor & Crocker (1981). This is particularly important for news understanding, because it shows how readers form schemata of political events and episodes as well as about social groups and news actors.

2. The notion of superstructures is a specific use made of the notion of textual 'schemata'. See e.g. van Dijk (1980), also for its relations with the notion of macrostructure.

3. There is little work on the use of 'news schemata' by readers. Thorndyke (1979) concludes that different schematic forms of the news do not substantially alter comprehension, but he does not work with explicit news schemata, but with narrative with expository 'schemata'. For a discussion about the role of news structure on comprehension and recall, see Höijer & Findahl (1984).

4. After earlier work on story structure in anthropology, sociolinguistics and literary studies, there is much recent work on the role of 'story grammars' in psychology and AI. A lively debate has arisen from such proposals (e.g. by Rumelhart, 1975, Mandler, 1978), and their critique (e.g. by Black & Wilensky, 1979). See the discussions in e.g. van Dijk, ed. (1980) and the commentaries of Wilensky (1983),and numerous references given there. This work is directly relevant to our insights of processes of news (schema) understanding, also because news exhibits various dimensions of narrative structure. No specific work, to our knowledge, however, has been done on the relations between news schemata and story schemata.

5. For the role of titles and headlines upon comprehension and recall, see Note 1 of Chapter 3. The role of summaries (and their relations with the 'elaborated' texts) has been studied mainly by Reder & Anderson (1980). See also Reder (1982).

Chapter 5

1. Local meanings in discourse, i.e. the meanings of words, phrases, sentences and sentence connections, are studied mainly in linguistic semantics. For an introduction to the semantic notions used here, see e.g. Lyons (1981). For a more systematic survey of semantics, see Lyons (1977).

2. The notions 'level of specificity' and 'degree of completeness' have been introduced in van Dijk (1977). Unfortunately, there is no systematic analysis of these notions, theoretically or empirically, in other studies that we know of. Further work on these notions, also for news, is imperative. 'Perspective' is a notion that has been studied from (indeed) many perspectives, mainly in literary analysis of narrative and in modern linguistics. Unfortunately, there is no adequate and theoretically up to date work on perspective, nor applications to the analysis of news. See Genette (1980) and Prince (1982) for literary studies of perspective or point of view.

*5. Semantic implication and entailment are theoretically rather difficult notions. Linguistic semantics has payed little attention to them (see however Lyons, 1977). Most of the work in this area has been done in philosophical logic. See e.g. Anderson & Belnap (1975). More relevant for linguistic purposes has been the (less formal) notion of 'implicature', introduced by Grice (1975), which is defined in terms of conversational relevance and inference making.

3. Local coherence is studied in detail in van Dijk (1977). See also de Beaugrande (1980).

4. The notion of functional coherence, introduced in van Dijk (1977 , and treated in different terms by e.g. Grimes (1975) and Meyer (1975), has received little attention in discourse analysis (see e.g. van Dijk, 1981). It is crucial though for a study of the coherence relations in news discourse.

*

(Notes Chapter 5, cont.)

6. For a recent approach to the notion of 'vagueness' in language, see Ballmer & Pinkal, eds. (1984).
   The notion of 'indirectness' has been introduced especially in pragmatics to define so-called 'indirect speech acts' (such as the accomplishment of a request by the accomplishment of an assertion: stating "I am hungry" may often imply an indirect request for food) (Searle, 1975). Semantic indirectness --and its conversational or textual functions-- have received much less attention.

7. For an analysis of the notion of 'ideology' in discourse, see e.g. Hall, et al. (eds.)(1980), e.g. Camargo Heck's (1980) chapter. See also Véron (1978) and Fowler, et al. (1979).

Chapter 6

1. The notion of 'style' has been discussed in many studies in linguistics and literary scholarship, and underlies the work in the discipline of stylistics. A somewhat dated but still practical survey (also from a psychological/persuasion point of view) is given by Sandell (1977).
2. Social dimensions of style and language variation are discussed in most work in sociolinguistics. See especially Scherer & Giles, eds. (1979).
3. Although there exists a library full of books and articles about rhetoric, both classical and modern, there is in fact no modern, up-to-date introduction to this important field. Influential has been Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969), especially for argumentation. More practical is Kahane (1971), who discusses also rhetoric and argumentation in the news. For a survey of classical rhetoric, see Corbett (1971). A more social psychological approach --in terms of 'persuasion'-- is taken by the studies in e.g. Roloff & Berger, eds. (1980).

(Notes Chapter 6, cont.)

4. There is not much experimental evidence about the role of rhetorical structures in understanding and recall of text (see van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983, for discussion).

5. The style of the news has had occasional attention in studies of linguistic style, but there is no general introduction to news style. Crystal & Davie (1969) is dated but still relevant. See Hartley (1982), Davis & Walton, eds. (1983) and Lüger (1983).

6. Few studies are wholly dedicated to the rhetorical structures of the news. See especially Kahane (1971).

7. Comprehension effects of various syntactic structures (such as embedding) is discussed in e.g. Clark & Clark (1977). A survey of comprehensibility components of the news is provided by Findahl & Höijer (1984).

Chapter 7

1. 'Relevance' is a notion that has many meanings. It is discussed in interpretative sociology (inspired by Schütz), in pragmatics and linguistics (e.g. inspired by Grice), in logic and formal philosophy, and in psychology. For our discussion here it is especially the cognitive aspect that is important. For an analysis of the term in psychology, see van Dijk (1979).

2. News photographs have been studied in e.g. Baynes, ed. (1971) and Goldberg, ed. (1981).

3. Semiotic analysis of pictures has been influenced heavily by Barthes (1961). For a more recent approach, see Hall (1981), especially for an ideological analysis of photographs.

4. The distinction, made here, between direct and indirect discourse (i.e. between quoted and described talk), is much more complicated than suggested. See e.g. McHale (1978) and Banfield (1978).

(Notes Chapter 7, cont.)

5. Systematic comparative studies of agency news and the way this news is represented in the newspaper are scarce. For a recent informal (quantitative) approach, see Schramm & Atwood (1981).

6. See Tunstall (1971) for an account of the work of correspondents from a sociological point of view (i.e. without an analysis of their actual news reporting). See also Rosenblum (1979).

7. Boyd-Barret (1980) mentions that Beirut is an important news center, where most agencies and larger newspapers have correspondents.

8. For the uses of news wires in third world countries (of Asia), see Schramm & Atwood (1981). See also the discussions in Richstad & Anderson, eds. (1981), and the figures given by Boyd-Barret (1980).

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